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AUTHOR Paulston, Rolland G.
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ABSTRACT

This paper identifies how comparative educators have chosen to visually represent the field of development education since about 1963. This is an attempt to historicize the vision as scholars struggle with the representational dilemmas and opportunities of late modernity/postmodernity. The paper is organized in three parts. Part 1 illustrates how the three scopic regimes of modernity (the technical rationalist; the critical rationalist; the hermeneutical constructivist) each have their own favored rhetoric and forms of representation. Part 2 presents a personal narrative of how the social cartography project has sought to elaborate and implement a new social mapping rationale and methodology. Part 3 notes the possible implications of this study and the social cartography project for current theoretical debates, representational practice, and new opportunities to reposition development studies vis-a-vis the human sciences in the coming millennium. Examples of how social cartography might help to construct new ways representing and seeing are assessed. (EH)

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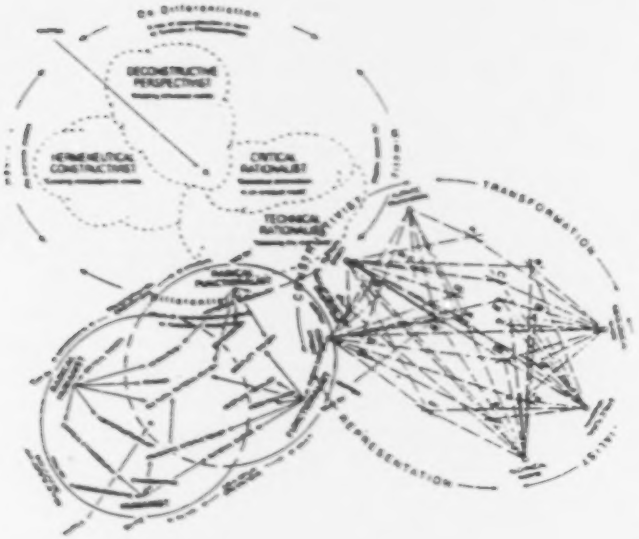
OPENING THE DEVELOPMENT DEBATE WITH MAPS OF MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES



Rolland G. Paulston
Professor of Policy Studies
University of Pittsburgh
Administrative and Policy Studies Department
5T16 Forbes Quadrangle
Pittsburgh, PA 15260
Fax: 412-648-1784

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ABSTRACT

This paper identifies how comparative educators have chosen to visually represent the field of development education since about 1963. As such, it is but a first step, an attempt to historicize our vision as we struggle with the representational dilemmas and opportunities of late modernity/postmodernity.

The paper is organized in three parts. Part one illustrates how the three scopic regimes of modernity, i.e., the technical rationalist (TR), the critical rationalist (CR), and the hermeneutical constructivist (HC) each have their own favored rhetoric and forms of representation, as well as utilities and limitations. Part two presents a personal narrative of how the social cartography project has sought to elaborate and implement a new social mapping rational and methodology. It presents a personal narrative of one comparative educator's attempt to contribute to the liberation of the discursive field so that the task of imagining alternatives can be commenced (or perceived by researchers in a new light) in those spaces where the production of scholarly and expert knowledge for theoretical and development purposes continues to take place. This section presents general principles for a non-innocent social cartography project elaborated to remap international comparative education using what might be called a scopic regime of postmodernity.

In part three I note some possible implications of this study and the social cartography project for current theoretical debates, representational practice, and new opportunities to reposition development studies vis-a-vis the human sciences in the coming millennium. Examples of how social cartography might help to construct new ways of representing and seeing are assessed. My goal here is to suggest something of the utility of heuristic social maps as new ways to both situate and open representational practice and debate.

OPENING THE DEVELOPMENT DEBATE WITH MAPS OF MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES

> It would be fascinating to map out the political implications of scopic regimes, but it can't be done too reductively. The perspectivalist regime is not necessarily complicitous only with oppressive political practices. Under certain circumstances it may be emancipatory; it really depends on how it is used.[1]

Introduction

In this paper, I respond to Martin Jay's imaginative proposal to "map . . . scopic regimes." While, to my knowledge, Jay has yet to undertake this ambitious task, it does make sense here in light of recent work on social cartographic methods carried out at the University of Pittsburgh since about 1992. At that time, I helped to initiate this project with a theory-mapping paper presented at the 8th World Congress of Comparative Education Societies in Prague. That study interrogated some sixty exemplary comparative education texts, and mapped the theoretical perspectives discovered onto a two dimensional field. My intent was to demonstrate how such a "social cartography," or heuristic device, might serve to identify and visualize difference within and between disputatious communities in a way that would open space for all perspectives discovered, privilege none--yet problematize all, and promote a useful visual and verbal dialogue.

This "map," included as Figure 22 below, demonstrates how postmodern figuration in the form of perceptual fields offers the eye a continuous and asymmetrical terrain of unhindered mobility, as first proposed in Merleau-Ponty's work on the phenomenology of perception. Language being more bound than mobile does not have this unhindered mobility. Lyotard has proposed that postmodern sensibility is primarily visual and breaks this colonization of the unconscious by verbal discourse. Instead, it allows a new visual aesthetics based on a paradigm of cultural de-differentiation.[2] Does this view of figural aesthetics free the image from the dictates of narrative meaning and rule-bound formalisms that have predominated under modernity's sway? How might an examination of changes in the visual culture of our field before and after the postmodern turn increase our understanding of the emergence of social mapping as a kind of cognitive art or play of figuration? Does this visual turn in representing the multiple realities of our field today result in, as claimed, a new distinct mode of visual representation where space is used to represent a spatial dispersion that offers, when *combined* with discourse analysis, a system of possibility for new knowledge?

In pursuit of some at least provisional answers, I have selected twenty-eight illustrative examples of the visual culture in comparative education discourse since the 1960's. Sources examined are the *Comparative Education Review*, *Comparative Education*, *Compare* and others. From visual analysis of these sources, four scopic regimes, or visual

subcultures, are identified and presented in Figure 1. This effort to identify how comparative educators have chosen to visually represent our field is but a first step in this attempt to historicize our vision as we struggle with the representational dilemmas and opportunities of late modernity, and perhaps, very early postmodernity.

The paper is organized in three parts. Part one illustrates how the three scopic regimes of modernity, i.e., the technical rationalist (TR), the critical rationalist (CR) and the hermeneutical constructivist (HC) each have their own favored rhetoric and forms of representation, as well as utilities and limitations. Part two presents a personal narrative of how the social cartography project has sought to elaborate and implement a new social mapping rational and methodology. It presents, a personal narrative of one comparative educator's attempt to contribute to the liberation of the discursive field so that the task of imagining alternatives can be commenced (or perceived by researchers in a new light) in those spaces where the production of scholarly and expert knowledge for theoretical and development purposes continues to take place. This section presents general principles for a non-innocent social cartography project elaborated to remap comparative education using what might be called a scopic regime of postmodernity.

In part three, I note some possible implications of this study and the social cartography project for current theoretical debates, representational practice, and new opportunities to reposition our field vis-a-vis the human sciences in the coming millennium. Examples of how social cartography might help to construct new ways of representing and seeing are assessed. My goal here is to suggest something of the utility of heuristic social maps as new ways to both situate and open representational practice. But before the "picture show" begins, I will situate the mapper in this cartographic work with three quotes chosen to illustrate my present worldview and scholarly ambition:

The first is from the Australian poet Judith Wright:

> All things I focus in the crystal of my sense. I give them breath and life and set them free in the dance.[3]

The second is from the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche:

> There is only a perspective seeing, only a perspective `knowing,' the more affects we allow to speak about a thing, the more eyes, various eyes we are able to use for the same thing, the more complete will be our `concept' of the thing, our `objectivity.'[4]

The third is from the anthropologist Arturo Escobar:

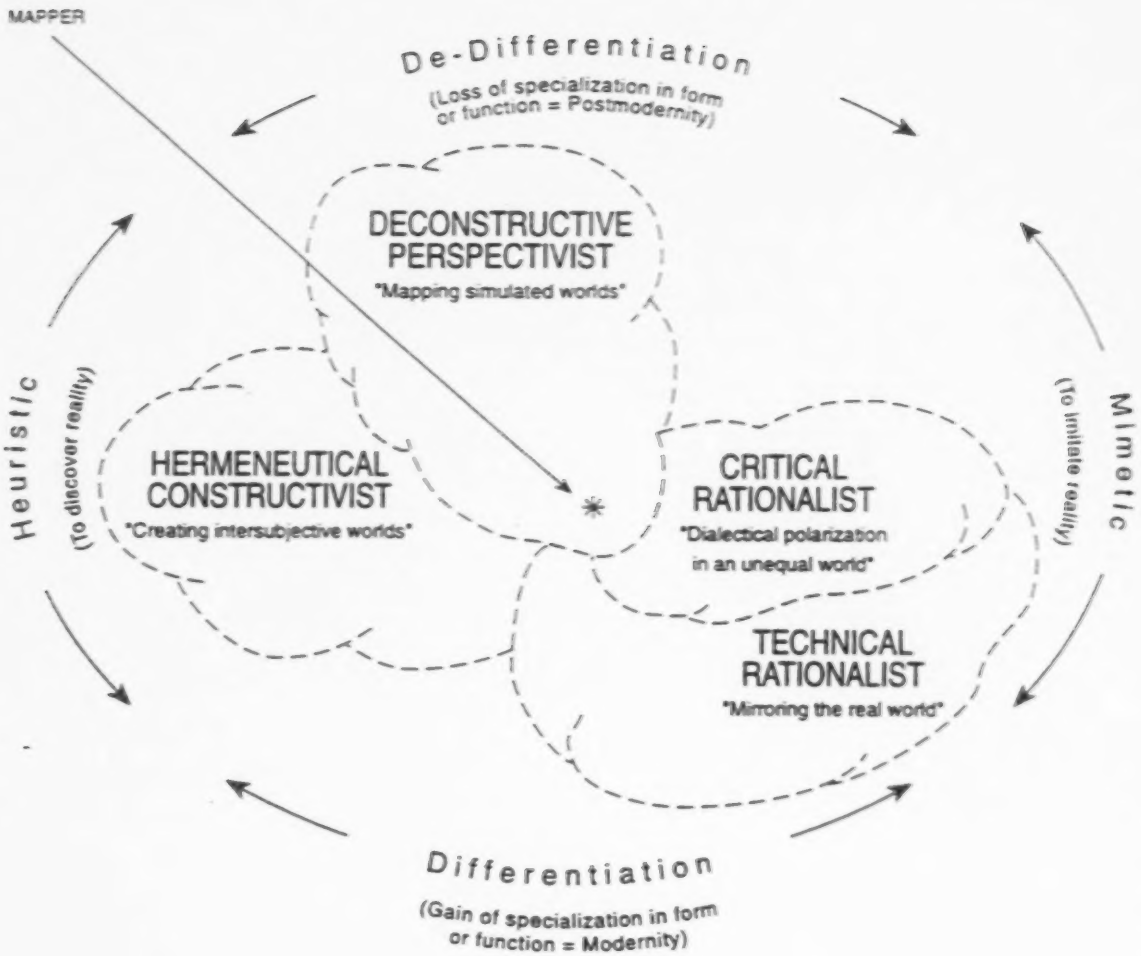

Figure 1. Scopic Regimes of Modernity and Postmodernity in Comparative Education Discourse.

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> Regimes of discourse and representation can be analyzed as places of encounter where identities are constructed . . . where violence is originated, symbolized, and managed. Charting regimes of representation . . . attempts to draw the `cartographies' or maps of knowledge and power . . . and of struggle.[5]

These three extracts will help me share with the reader my view on what might be called "the crisis of representation" in our field, and in the human sciences. The first quote celebrates an embodied view of knowledge construction. Wright and I align ourselves with those who oppose excessive reliance on the scientific rationality and objectivity espoused in the name of Enlightenment. We see the proper end of human learning not in a reconciliation of opposing principles, but in the play of opposites and in their interpretation. It is for us in this `play of opposites' rather than in their reconciliation that life finds its source of energy.

The quote from Nietzsche (1887) flags my concerns to elaborate a wide-visioned or perspectivist way of seeing and knowing capable of scoping difference, and a social constructivist methodology as, perhaps, most suitable for comparative research today.

In Escobar's quote, I share his concern to situate and visualize knowledge construction and representation efforts, to question and critically engage all discourse, including our own, and show the connections between power and who is allowed to speak and to represent reality. While this set of positions would seem to favor notions of embodied, situated, and polyvocal knowledge, ideas that some have identified with a postmodern sensibility, I see my point of view also coinciding with a critical pragmatic perspective that seeks to understand practice and outcomes by showing connections between choices of forms of representation and positions in the debate.

Part One Visual Representations in Modernity

In this section, I focus on the conventions and codes that underly nonlinguistic symbol systems, what Nelson Goodman has called "languages of art." I begin to explore the gap between the seeable and the sayable, and question Mitchell's contention that the human sciences are presently undergoing a "pictorial turn" where society can be represented as *both* verbal and visual text. Mitchell claims this turn is moving us beyond

> . . . naive mimeses, copy or correspondence theories of representation: it is rather a postlinguistic, postsemiotic rediscovery of the picture as a complex interplay between visuality, apparatus, institutions, discourse, bodies, and figurality.[6]

The picture now becomes a kind of model or figure for "other things (including figuration itself) . . . an unsolved problem" (p. 13). Attention to this "problem" may help make comparative educators more aware of their infatuation with scientism, positivism, and

epistemology, and with their near hegemonic view of the image as a figure of representational transparency and realism.

How then may the scopic regimes of modernity and postmodernity discovered (i.e., the TR, CR, HC, and DP) be described and compared? To this end I create in Figure 1 a field of four visual cultures laid out using the axes of mimetic-heuristic and differentiation-dedifferentiation. In the lower half of the field are the three scopic regimes using modern sensibility. The upper field, in contrast, provides space for a deconstructive perspectivist (DP), or a postmodern view of representation as multiple mappings of "simulated worlds." This fourth scopic subculture is examined in Part Three.

In comparative education discourse, the technical rationalist figuration of educational reality has dominated since at least the 1960s, easily surviving some competition with critical rationalist (CR) and hermeneutical constructionist (HC) forms during the 1970s and 1980s, and with postmodern cartography after 1992.

Defining characteristics of the TR tradition can be seen in Figures 2-8 below. It most often displays a mimetic representation of reality where the observer is assumed to be independent of the phenomena observed. According to Jay, the TR view (what he calls Cartesian Perspectivism) favors a geometricalized, rationalized, essentially intellectual concept of space. It is characteristically much concerned with heirarchy, proportion, and analogical resemblances. It seeks--by presenting an abstract and quantitatively conceptualized space--to de-eroticize the visual order, to foster de-narrativization, de-textualization and de-contextualization.[7] It is gendered male. Richard Rorty sees this scopic regime attempting "to mirror nature,"[8] to insist on the literalty of realism. Without the observer "in the picture," realism presents a representation by resemblance that says how things are in a real world. Figure 2 for example, patterns spatial relationships into vertical and horizontal lines delineating levels and stages. It presents a matrix representing a reality of objective, universal and progressive systemic differentiation. Figure 3 expands this structural-functional logic to visually frame how levels of structural differentiation correlate with levels of educational "specialization in form and function." The implication is that modernity and progress closely track the importation of western educational ideas and forms. Turned on its left side, the figure presents a stair-like Parsonian progression from the traditional (Nepal) to the modern (Japan) and a graphic picture of modernization theory.

Figure 4 shifts the eye from the differentiation to the mimetic node, or pole, with a mathematical configuration of reality at the classroom, not the system level. This move to statistical modeling gained considerable impetus during the decade or so after 1974 witnessed widespread efforts to make comparative education "more scientific" and "rigorous."

Classification of Vertical and Horizontal Relationships in School Systems

Level	Age Range	
IV	(25)	STAGE 6 Postgraduate Study
III	(21/22)	STAGE 5 *Examples* Professional Schools Higher Stage of Univers. Study, Teacher Training
	(18/19)	STAGE 4 *Examples* Advanced Technical Schools Lower Stage of Univers. Study, Teacher Training Undergraduate Colleges
II	(14/15)	STAGE 3 *Examples* Full-time and part-time Vocat. Schools Upper Section of High Schools, Grammar Schools, Gymn., Teacher Training
	(10/11)	STAGE 2 *Examples* Upper Section of Elementary Schools Lower Section of High Schools, Grammar Schools Gymnasiums Intermediate Schools
I	(5/6/7)	STAGE 1 *Examples* Primary Schools
↑ Compulsory School begins		Pre-School Education *Examples* Nursery and Kindergarten

Figure 2. Classification of Vertical and Horizontal Relationships in School Systems. F. Hilker in B. Holmes and S. B. Robinsohn, *Relevant Data in Comparative Education* (Geneva: IBE, 1963), p. 57.

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Scalogram of Educational Differentiation

C.R. = 0·95
C.S. = 0·79

	Ministry, etc.	Inspectorate	Curriculum agency	Secondary vocational school	Secondary industrial school	University	Pedagog. trng. secondary teachers	Secondary agricultural school	Pre-primary school	Special education class	Special education school	Research inst. phys-bio. sci.	Research inst. soc. sci.	Research inst. agriculture	Univ. faculties bio., chem., phys.	Research inst. economics	Spec. secondary indust. school	Univ. faculties soc. or anth.
1. Nepal	X	X	X	O	O	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
2. Laos	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
3. Cambodia	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	X	O
3. Burma	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	X	O	O	X	O	O
4. Mongolian People's Republic	X	O	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	X	X	X	X	O
4. Afghanistan	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
5. Malaya	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
5. Ceylon	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
5. Thailand	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
6. S. Korea	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	X	O	O
7. Philippines	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O
8. Pakistan	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O
9. N. Korea	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	X	X	X	X	O
9. Indonesia	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	X	X	X	O
9. China (Mainland)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O
10. India	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
10. China (Taiwan)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	X
10. Japan	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Figure 3. Scalogram of Educational Differentiation. D. Adams and J. P. Farrell, "Social Differentiation and Educational Differentiation." *Comparative Education*, 5 (1969), p. 255.

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In Figure 5, Clark Kerr provides a variety of interesting iconic representations of educational systems that allows for greater variation of configuration than found in, for example, Figures 1 and 2. Figure 5 presents pure geometric forms as best representing the complex reality of situated variations in national higher education systems and policies around the world, yet it retains a strong TR logocentric/mimetic style.

Figure 6 introduces a meta-theoretical and highly differentiated systems model for comparing "functional subsystems of society" and "styles of . . . comparative . . . thinking." This monumental figuration introduces for the first time in our TR representations "the observer's point of view" but only in a fixed either/or, stop/go, relay circuit that privileges the appearance of order and binary logic over any possibility for observer (or actor) subjectivity or intersubjectivity in social life. How this totalizing theoretical model of "self-referential systems" might find utility in practice remains to be seen.

Figure 7 would seem to indicate something of a return to the naive realism of the 1960s with its arbitrary levels, frozen boxes and suggestion of an ordered, knowable--and manageable--educational and social world. While the authors' verbal text claims that their figure can "help identify perspectives" and open research to "alternative perspectives," their rigid visual model would seem to privilege geometric order at the expense of possibilities for a more open exchange of interpretations, or a representation of the other in her voice. They claim that their ". . . framework for multilevel analysis . . . can help identify the perspectives from which educational phenomena have and have not been investigated" (p. 488). How can this be when the representation--in contrast to Figure 1--would seem blind (and closed) to all scopic regimes but its own TR view?

In Figure 8, we find as in Figure 5, idealized models of a situated educational reform practice. While these so-called "qualitative models" seek to represent qualitative, or heuristic attributes, they seem to me more essentialist, arbitrary, and geometric in their ambition to imitate a real world. As such I would place them closer to the HC tradition, yet they are still essentially rationalist in style. The author's goal of ". . . coalescing . . . different realities into a truly functional, unified model" (p. 13) also suggests the application, conscious or not, of an TR visual code.

With the polarized figure presented in Figure 9, the first example of a critical rationalist visual subculture appeared in 1971. This scopic regime has much in common with

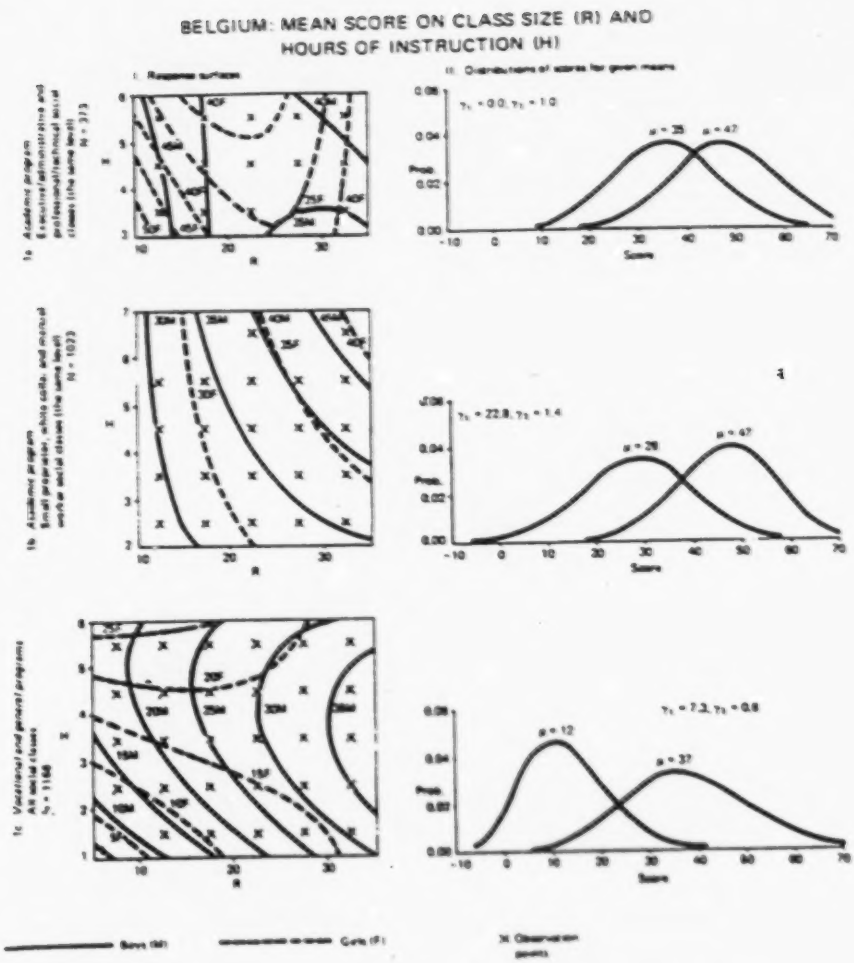

Figure 4. Belgium: Mean Score on Class Size (R) and Hours of Instruction (H). J. Lindsey, "A Reanalysis of Class Size and Achievement in the I.E.A. Mathematics Study," *Comparative Education Review*, 18, no. 2 (1974), p. 317.

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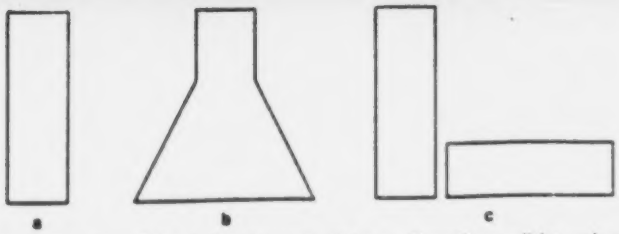
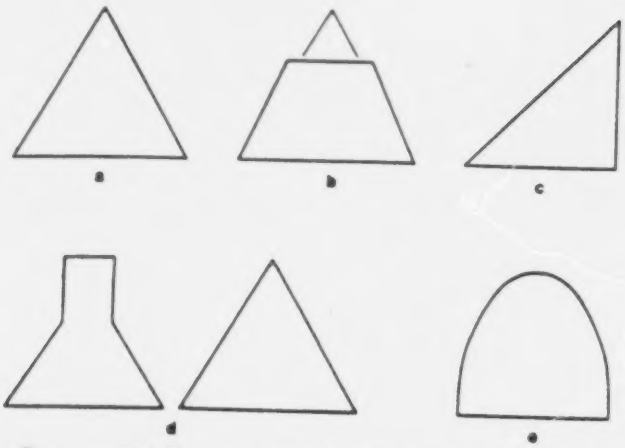
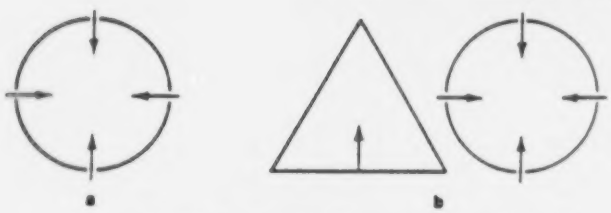


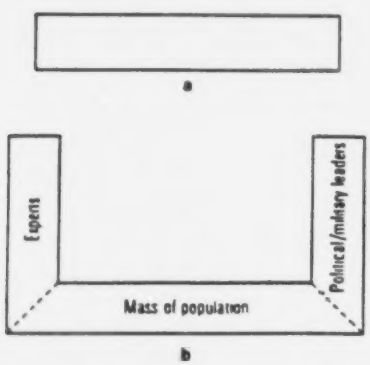
a. Hereditary elitist; b. Meritocratic elitist; c. Hereditary elitist with separate mass elementary system.



a. Pure pyramid; b. Truncated pyramid with reduced emphasis upon higher education, including research; c. Half pyramid directed toward civil-service occupations; d. Pyramid arising alongside an older elitist system; e. Advanced-stage pyramid.



a. Pure open access; b. Open access as an alternative



a. Horizontal-egalitarian; b. Modified horizontal approach with elite groups

FIG. 5.—Atomistic education

Figure 5. Iconic Representations of Educational Systems. C. Kerr, "Five Strategies for Education and Their Major Variants", *Comparative Education Review*, 23, no. 2 (1979), pp. 173-178.

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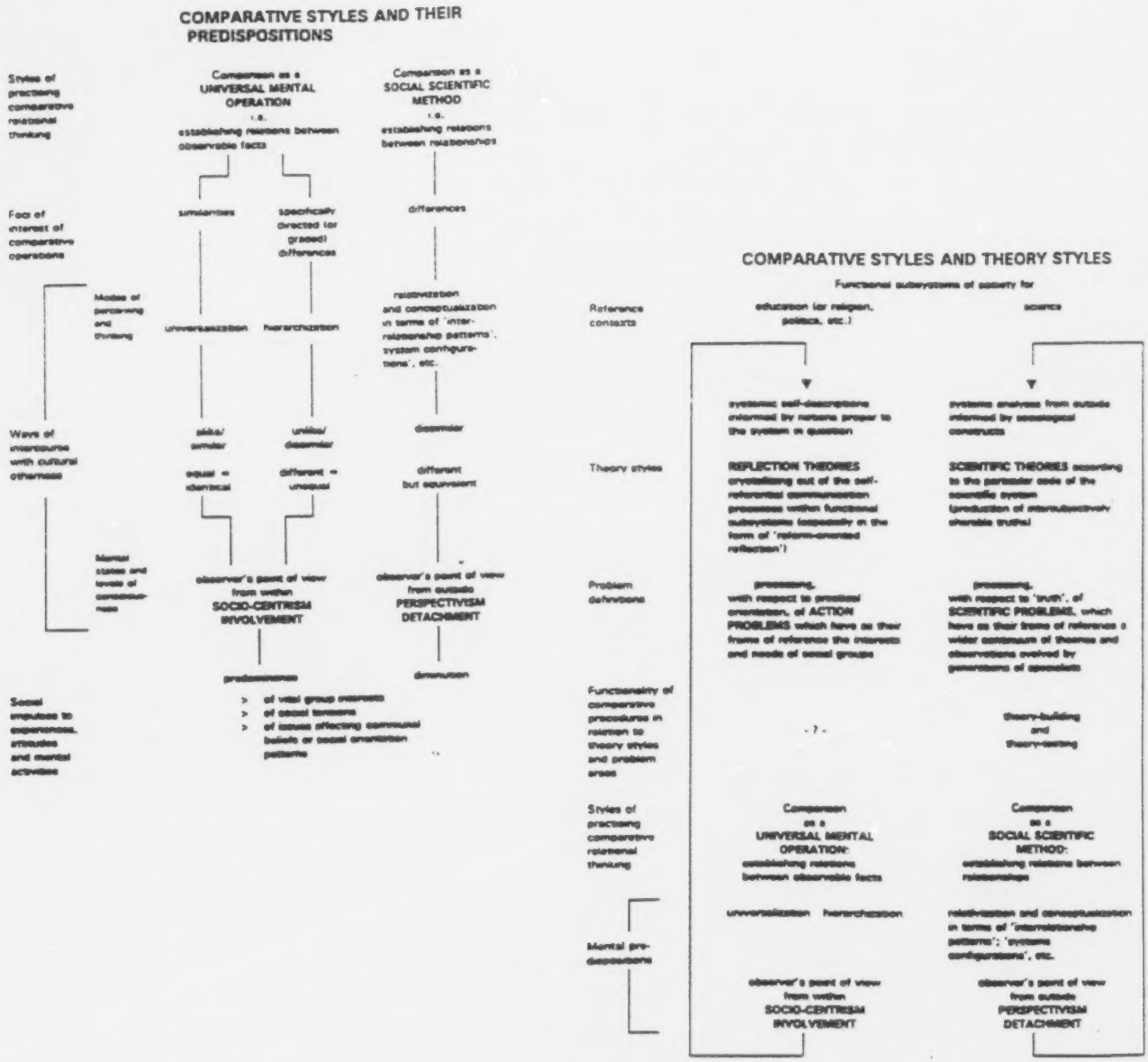
COMPARATIVE STYLES AND THEIR PREDISPOSITIONS
Styles of practising comparative relational thinking
Comparison as a UNIVERSAL MENTAL OPERATION
i.e. establishing relations between observable facts
Comparison as a SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC METHOD
i.e. establishing relations between relationships
Foci of interest of comparative operations
similarities
specifically directed (or graded) differences
differences
Modes of perceiving and thinking
universalization
hierarchization
relativization and conceptualization in terms of 'inter-relationship patterns', 'system configurations', etc.
Ways of intercourse with cultural otherness
alike/similar
unlike/dissimilar
dissimilar
equal = identical
different = unequal
different but equivalent
Mental states and levels of consciousness
observer's point of view from within
SOCIO-CENTRISM
INVOLVEMENT
observer's point of view from outside
PERSPECTIVISM
DETACHMENT
predispositions
diminution
> of vital group interests
> of social tensions
> of issues affecting communal beliefs or social orientation patterns
Social impulses to experiences, attitudes and mental activities
COMPARATIVE STYLES AND THEORY STYLES
Functional subsystems of society for
Reference contexts
education (or religion, politics, etc.)
science
Theory styles
systemic self-descriptions informed by notions proper to the system in question
systems analyses from outside informed by sociological constructs
REFLECTION THEORIES crystallizing out of the self-referential communication processes within functional subsystems (especially in the form of 'reform-oriented reflection')
SCIENTIFIC THEORIES according to the particular code of the scientific system (production of intersubjectively shareable truths)
Problem definitions
processing, with respect to practical orientation, of ACTION PROBLEMS which have as their frame of reference the interests and needs of social groups
processing, with respect to 'truth', of SCIENTIFIC PROBLEMS, which have as their frame of reference a wider continuum of theories and observations evolved by generations of specialists
Functionality of comparative procedures in relation to theory styles and problem areas
- ? -
theory-building and theory-testing
Styles of practising comparative relational thinking
Comparison as a UNIVERSAL MENTAL OPERATION: establishing relations between observable facts
Comparison as a SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC METHOD: establishing relations between relationships
universalization
hierarchization
relativization and conceptualization in terms of 'interrelationship patterns'; 'system configurations', etc.
Mental pre-dispositions
observer's point of view from within
SOCIO-CENTRISM
INVOLVEMENT
observer's point of view from outside
PERSPECTIVISM
DETACHMENT

Figure 6. Comparative Styles and Their Predispositions. J. Schriewer, "The Method of Comparison and the Need for Externalization: Methodological Criteria and Sociological Concepts," in *Theories and Methods in Comparative Education* J. Schriewer and B. Holmes, eds. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1988), pp. 40 & 52.

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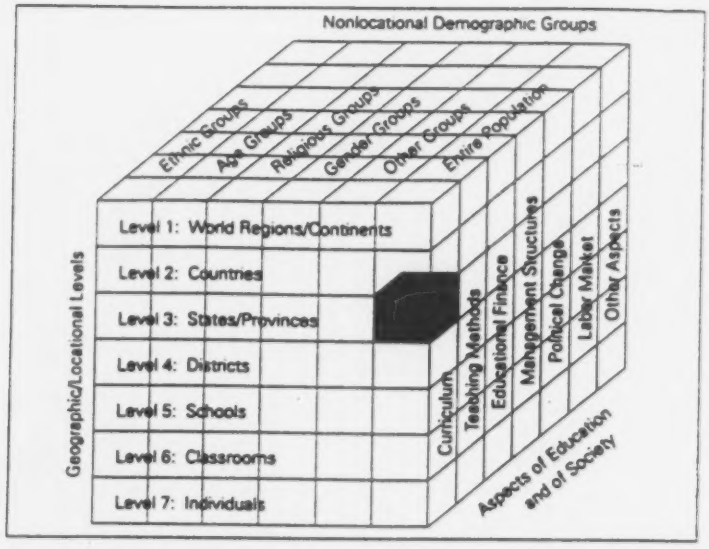

Figure 7. A Framework for Comparative Education Analysis. M. Bray and M. Thomas, "Levels of Comparison in Educational Studies, "*Harvard Educational Review*" 65, no. 3 (1995), p.475.

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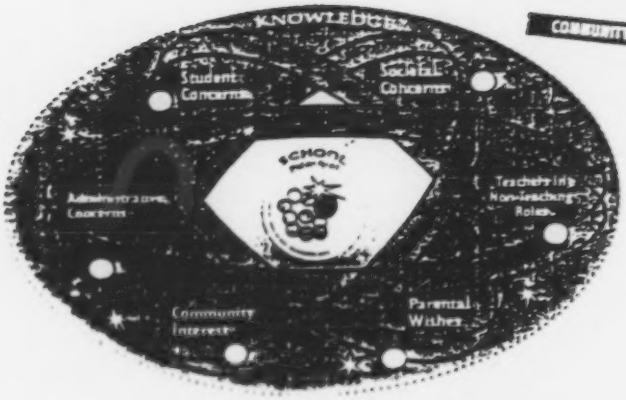
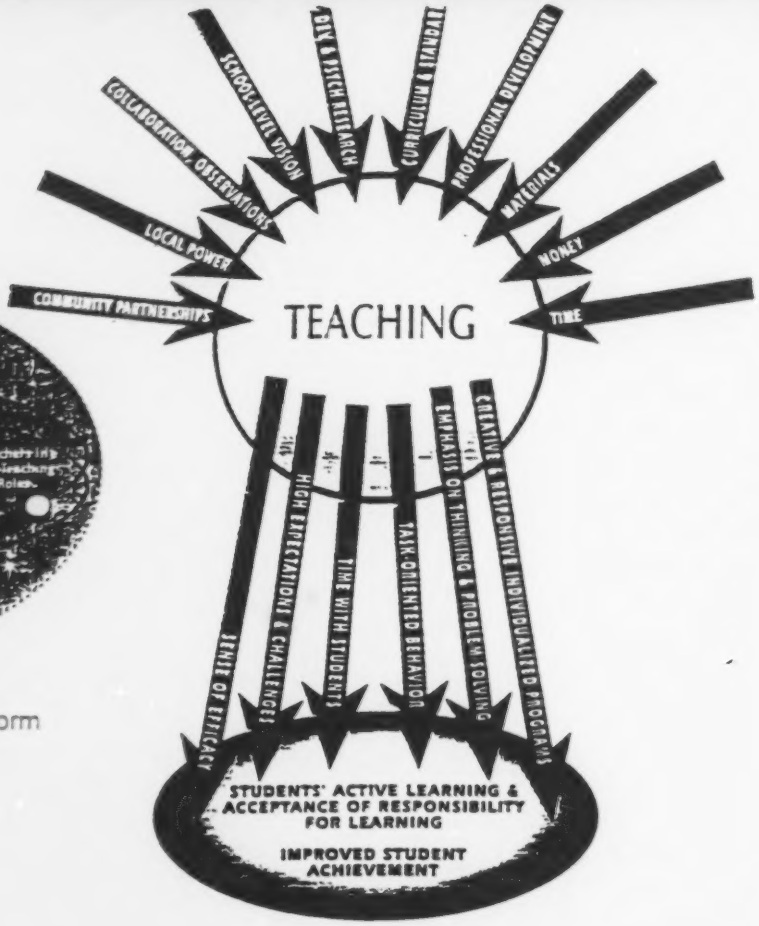
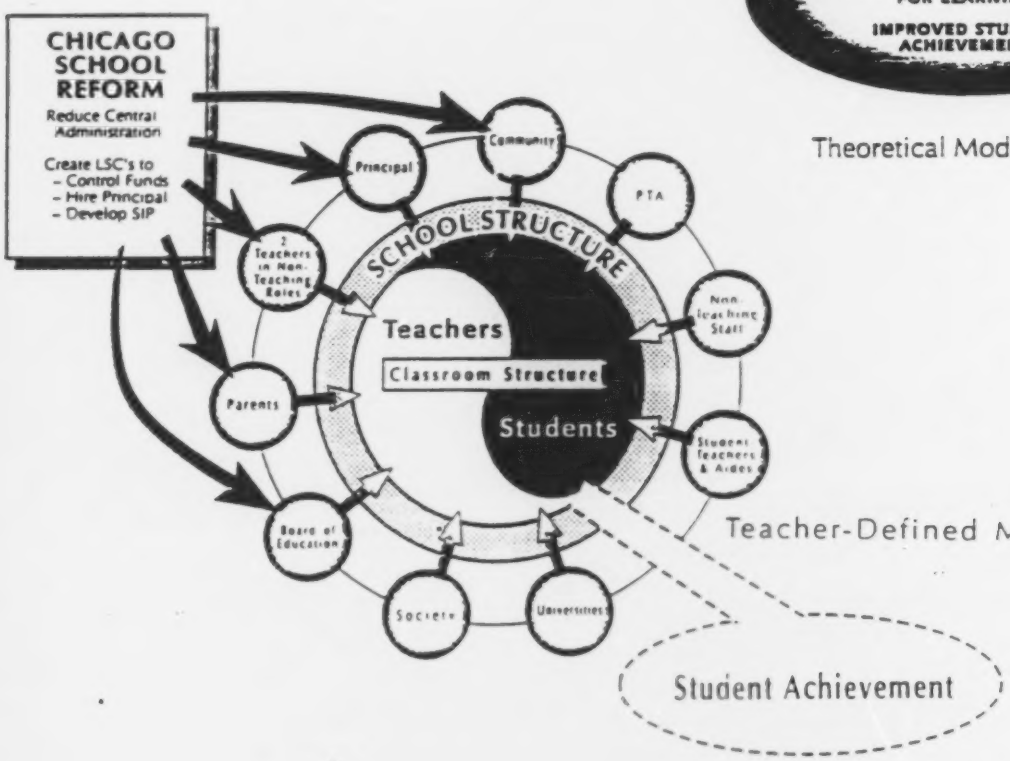


Research Model of School Reform



Theoretical Model of School Reform



Teacher-Defined Model of School Reform

Figure 8. Theoretical, Research and Teacher-Defined Models of School Reform. M.L. Radnofsky, "Qualitative Models: Visually Representing Complex Data in an Image/Text Balance." *Qualitative Inquiry* 2, no. 4 (1996). Forthcoming.

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TR style representations--i.e., it is realist, it is usually framed with vertical and horizontal lines, it is also materialist (historical materialist, not scientific materialist), logocentric, (albeit with ideology dominant), Eurocentric, male gendered, configured in stages, and infused with a belief in Enlightenment meliorism and a promise of progress through historical and developmental stages.

The critical rationalist figuration differs significantly from the TR view, however, with a proclivity to visually polarize social groups, to represent a commitment to dialectical analysis, and to present a visualization of structured subordination. Where the TR view sees and accepts hierarchy in a real world, the CR view problematizes that hierarchy, with notions of correspondence and reproduction, and seeks to overturn it in favor of more equalitarian structures.[9] Social relations most often are configured as a negative correspondence, as in Figure 5, between social status and educational provision and outcomes. This negative dialectic drives the visual reality of CR presentation, as in a flagrant bi-polarization of paradigms (Figure 10); or in a typology of different strategies to overcome structured educational inequality, (Figure 11); or as a cool and rationally ordered figuration of superordinate and subordinate positions (Figure 12) that completely avoids any critical terminology in the verbal text.

In Figure 13, CR representation reaches a higher level of critical sophistication. Beginning with a "real world" map of Disneyland, Marin charts his way with semantic and semiological analysis to a visual "ideological representation" that deconstructs both the real Disneyland and the capitalist myth constructing the United States. To support his contention that a degenerate utopia is ideology mapped into the form of a myth, Marin illustrates structuralist--and critical rationalist--figuration practice in creating meaning out of space. Here, his three-part representation of the original Disneyland reveals the interplay--and "deep structure"--of mapped geographical, semiotic, and ideological space. Marin argues that ". . . by acting out Disney's utopia, the visitor realizes the ideology of America's dominant groups as a mythic founding narrative for their own society" (p. 241). Thus, Marin provides a picture of the United States as an "evil empire" at about the same time that President Reagan using narration constructed the USSR as his "evil empire."

Figure 14 also privileges a CR world view and idealizes this view into what might be seen as an "Emancipatory Disneyland" portraying and corresponding with the mythic space of a real ideological world. Where Figure 13 is a critique, Figure 14 radiates the energy and idealism of a somewhat late (i.e., highly differentiated) Freirian utopia.

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME BY MAJOR SOCIAL GROUPS IN 1963

Social groups (approximations)	% of total population	% of total national income received
Blanco—Large landowners, industrialists, capitalists, some professionals	0.1	19.9
Mestizos—Bureaucrats, businessmen, professionals and subprofessionals, employees, skilled workers, military officers	20.4	53.0
Cholos—Unskilled workers, peddlers, domestic, drivers, clerks, enlisted men	22.8	14.2
Indians—Mountain-dwelling farmers, herders, *hacienda* laborers, army draftees	56.7	12.9
	100.0	100.0

PERUVIAN SOCIO-CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL STRATIFICATION

General Attributes						
Sub-culture	Location in social hierarchy	Location	Languages spoken	Occupation	Schools usually attended	Usual length of schooling
Blanco	Upper	Urban (Lima and abroad)	Spanish and other European	Owners	Elite private schools (Lima and abroad)	University-level study in Lima and abroad
Entrance highly restricted using socio-economic, cultural, and genetic criteria						
Mestizo	Middle (lower-middle through upper-middle)	Urban (provincial and Lima)	Mostly Spanish	Managers, professionals, bureaucrats, skilled workers	Lesser private schools (better public schools in larger cities)	High school and study at university level (national schools in Lima or in provincial cities)
Access open but restricted and contested using cultural criteria						
Cholo	Lower (lower-lower through upper-lower)	Urban rural (migratory)	Indigenous (Quechua or Aymara) and Spanish	Unskilled workers, menial vendors, soldiers	Public schools	Primary (and some secondary in larger cities)
Social mobility blocked; acculturation encouraged and rewarded in urban settings, restricted in rural						
Indian	Marginal	Rural	Indigenous (Quechua or Aymara; males some Spanish)	Agricultural laborers, small farmers, herders	Nuclear—Indian schools of the *sierra*; Bilingual—jungle schools	Several years of primary, or unschooled

Figure 9. Peruvian Socio-cultural and Educational Stratification. R.G. Paulston, *Society Schools, and Progress in Peru* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1971), pp. 92 & 94.

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Social Change		Illustrative Linked Assumptions Concerning Educational Change Potentials and Processes			
Paradigms	"Theories"	Re Preconditions for Educational Change	Re Rationales for Educational Change	Re Scope and Process of Educational Change	Re Major Outcomes Sought
Equilibrium	Evolutionary	State of evolutionary readiness	Pressure to move to a higher evolutionary stage	Incremental and adaptive; "natural history" approach	New stage of institutional evolutional adaptation
	Neo-Evolutionary	Satisfactory completion of earlier stages	Required to support "national modernization" efforts	"Institution building" using Western models and technical assistance	New "higher" state of education and social differentiation/specialization
	Structural-Functionists	Altered functional and structural requisites	Social system need provoking an educational response; exogenous threats	Incremental adjustment of existing institutions, occasionally major	Continued "homeostasis or "moving" equilibrium; "human capital" and national "development"
	Systems	Technical expertise in "systems management," "Rational decision making" and "needs assessment"	Need for greater efficiency in system's operation and goal achievement; i.e., response to a system malfunction"	Innovative "problem solving" in existing systems; i.e., "Research and Development approach"	Improved "efficiency" re costs/benefits; adoption of innovation
Conflict	Marxian	Elite's awareness of need for change; or shift of power to socialist rulers and educational reformers	To adjust correspondence between social relations of production and social relations of schooling	Adjustive incremental following social mutations or radical restructuring with Marxist predominance	Formation of integrated workers, i.e., the new "Socialist Man"
	Neo-Marxian	Increased political power and political awareness of oppressed groups	Demands for social justice and social equality	Large-scale national reforms through "democratic" institutions and processes	Eliminate "educational privilege" and "elitism"; create a more equalitarian society
	Cultural Revitalization	Rise of a collective effort to revive or create "a new culture." Social tolerance for "deviant" normative movements and their educational programs	Rejection of conventional schooling as forced acculturation. Education needed to support advance toward movement goals	Creation of alternative schools or educational settings. If movement captures polity, radical change in national educational ideology and structure	Inculcate new normative system. Meet movement's recruitment, training, and solidarity needs
	Anarchistic Utopian	Creation of supportive settings; growth of critical consciousness; social pluralism	Free man from institutional and social constraints. Enhance creativity need for "life-long learning"	Isolated "freeing up" of existing programs and institutions, or create new learning modes and settings, i.e., a "learning society"	Self-renewal and participation. Local control of resources and community; elimination of exploitation and alienation

Figure 10. Relations Between Theories of Social and Educational Change/ Reform. R. G. Paulston, "Social and Educational Change: Conceptual Frameworks," *Comparative Education Review* 21, nos. 2/3 (1977), pp. 372 & 373.

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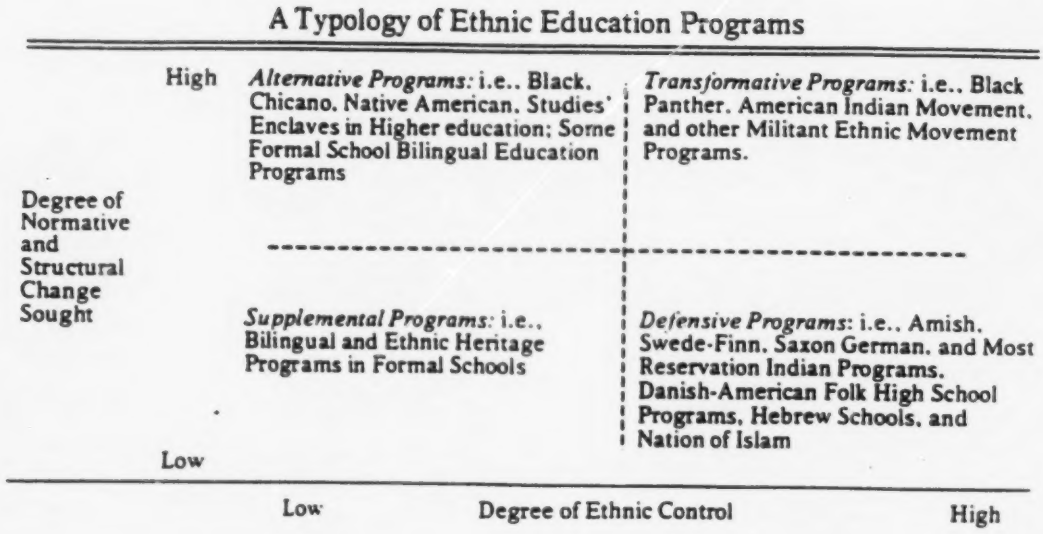
A Typology of Ethnic Education Programs
High
Alternative Programs: i.e., Black, Chicano, Native American, Studies' Enclaves in Higher education; Some Formal School Bilingual Education Programs
Transformative Programs: i.e., Black Panther, American Indian Movement, and other Militant Ethnic Movement Programs.
Degree of Normative and Structural Change Sought
Supplemental Programs: i.e., Bilingual and Ethnic Heritage Programs in Formal Schools
Defensive Programs: i.e., Amish, Swede-Finn, Saxon German, and Most Reservation Indian Programs. Danish-American Folk High School Programs, Hebrew Schools, and Nation of Islam
Low
Low
Degree of Ethnic Control
High

Figure 11. A Typology of Ethnic Education Programs, R.G. Paulston, "Separate Education as an Ethnic Survival Strategy," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (1977), p.186.

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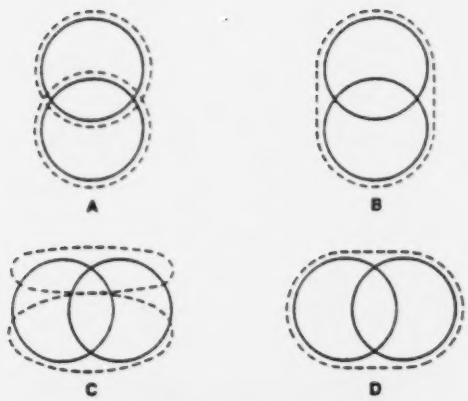

Types of intergroup relations: Type A, Cultural and structural segmentation in a vertical relationship. Type B, Cultural segmentation and structural commonality in a vertical relationship. Type C, Cultural and structural segmentation in a horizontal relationship. Type D, Cultural segmentation and structural commonality in a horizontal relationship. —— indicates cultural boundaries; —— indicates structural boundaries.

Figure 12. Types of Intergroup Relations. T.J. LaBelle and P.S. White, "Education and Multiethnic Integration: An Intergroup-Relations Typology," *Comparative Education Review*, 24, no. 2 (1980), p. 158.

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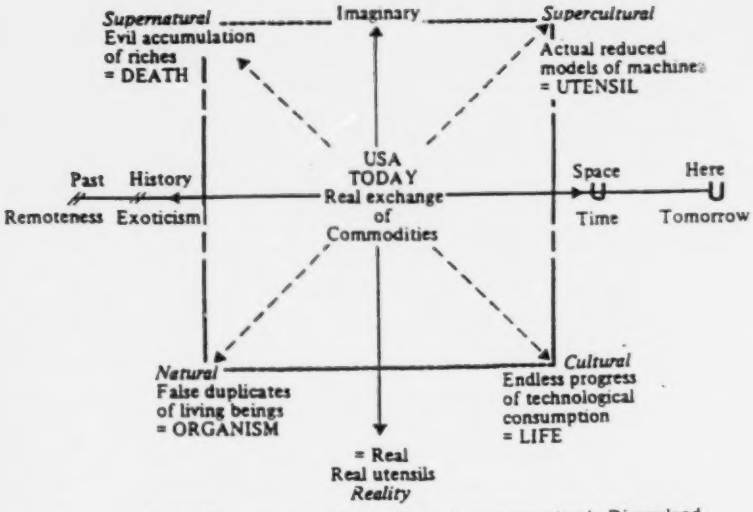
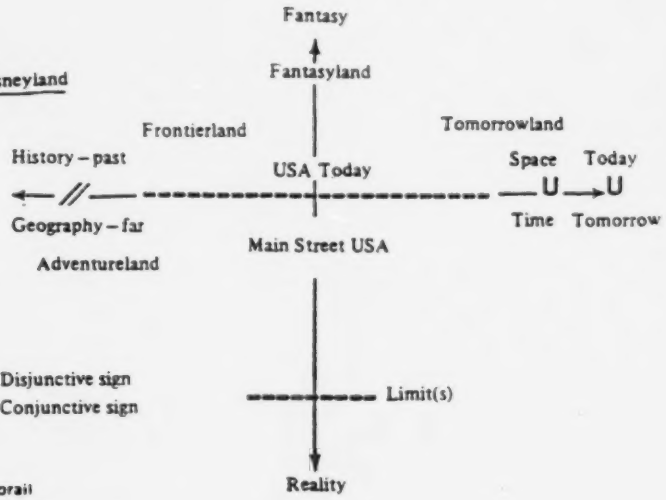
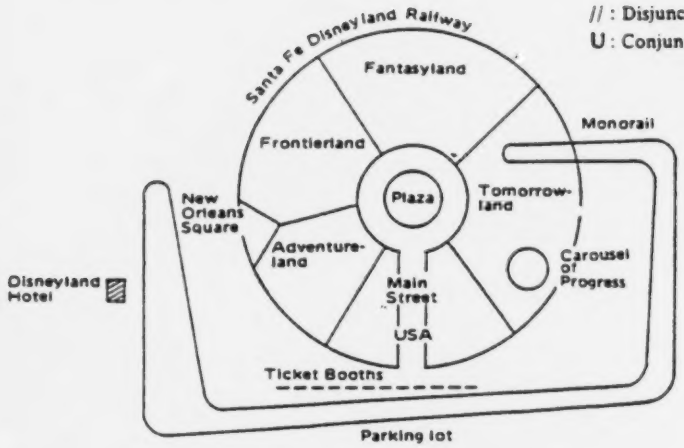


Semantic structure of the ideological representation in Disneyland



Semantic Structure of the Map



Map-diagram of Disneyland

Figure 13. Map Diagrams of Disneyland: Semantic Structure of the Map, Semantic Structure of the Ideological Representation. L. Marin, *Utopics: The Semiological Play of Textual Spaces* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1990), pp. 251, 252, & 257.

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With a shift from the critical rational and towards the hermeneutical way of seeing, our eye moves to the left, and a bit up on the map in Figure 1. Work in the hermeneutical constructivist tradition seeks to pattern the process of intersubjective world-making. It is open to narrative art and indeterminacy. It prizes insight and understanding and, while demanding a credible story, it refuses to be fixed, boxed, or theoretically overdetermined. Most of all, the HC view stoutly defends the centrality of desire, and the possibility for joy. It rejects the notion of Cartesian detachment where the observer, (as in Figures 2-8) is claimed to be free of all emotional involvement in that which is represented. It is a world view where stories and image are believed to possess the power to change minds and bodies, where metaphor is seen to be the last magic on earth. With the emergence of feminist scholarship in the 1970s this embodied scopic regime has flourished in cultural studies and the human sciences, but it is, rarely, if ever, found in comparative education discourse.

Figure 15 presents paradigmatic worlds discovered through discourse analysis and may be seen as a marginal example of the HC subculture. But it is constrained by the closed boxes and seeming fear of intersubjective messiness, attributes more akin to the TR genre. It retains the "regulation--radical change" polarity of CR-typè figures, but is constructed using discourse analysis and would seem to have no more than heuristic ambition. In sum, Figure 15 encompasses aspects of all the scopic regimes of modernity.

Figure 16 also constructs a world of discourse relations (in comparative education) using textual analysis. While this visual representation now moves closer to the heuristic pole, it continues to pattern this world using vertical and horizontal dimensions in a Eurocentric style matrix that moves from left to right. Any binary compulsion, has, however, been left out and the verbal text now reflexively questions "Characteristics of textual relations" for the first time in comparative education discourse.

In Figure 17, the world of children's storymaking is visualized as a multicontextual and interconnected web of possible relations, contacts, and influences. This figure suggests the hum and buzz of human experience.[10] Here reality is not mimed or mirrored but is constructed *in situ* as an ongoing process centered in the actor who is free to move without logocentric determinants or frozen spatial choices. For the first time an illustrative figure in comparative education discourse is strongly female gendered.

But as Figure 18 demonstrates, this HC world of world-making can also be manipulated by power to produce self-serving Utopias that exist nowhere. Figure 18 patterns world-making in the service of ideology and serves as a warning that romantic

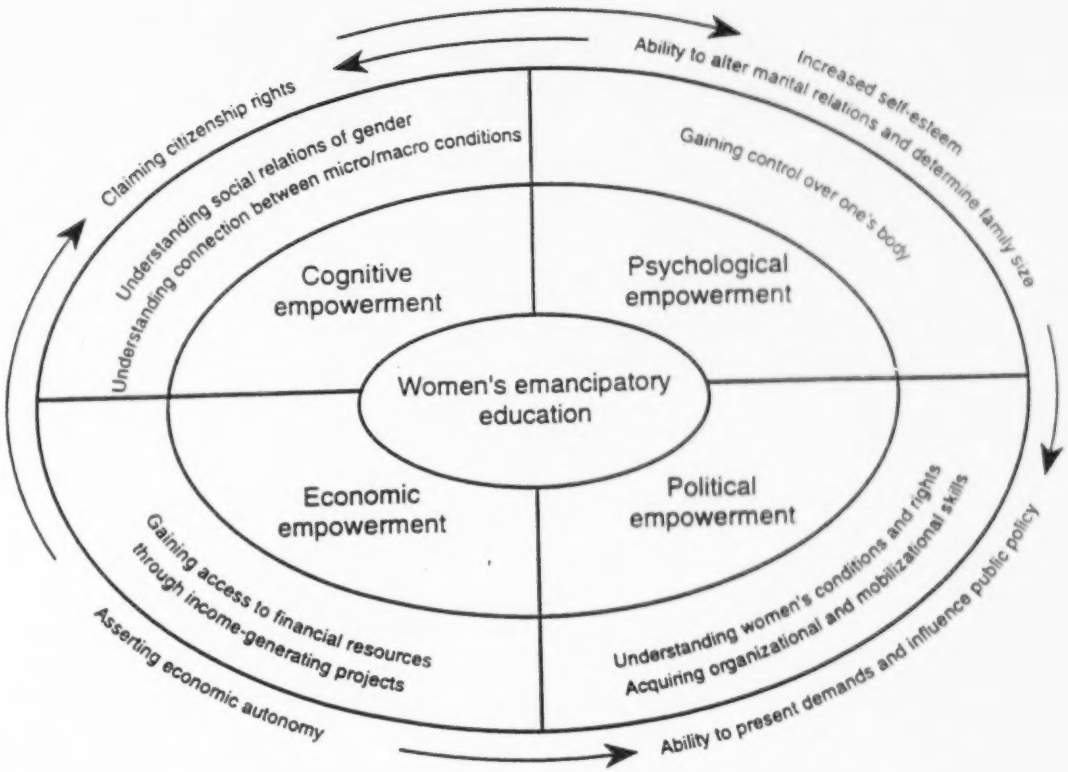
Claiming citizenship rights
Ability to alter marital relations and determine family size
Increased self-esteem
Understanding social relations of gender
Understanding connection between micro/macro conditions
Gaining control over one's body
Cognitive empowerment
Psychological empowerment
Women's emancipatory education
Economic empowerment
Political empowerment
Gaining access to financial resources through income-generating projects
Asserting economic autonomy
Understanding women's conditions and rights
Acquiring organizational and mobilizational skills
Ability to present demands and influence public policy

Figure 14. A Conceptualization of Education From an Empowerment Perspective. N. Stromquist,"Mapping Gendered Spaces in the Third World Educational Interventions," in R.G. Paulston, ed. *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change* (New York:Garland, 1996), p. 238.

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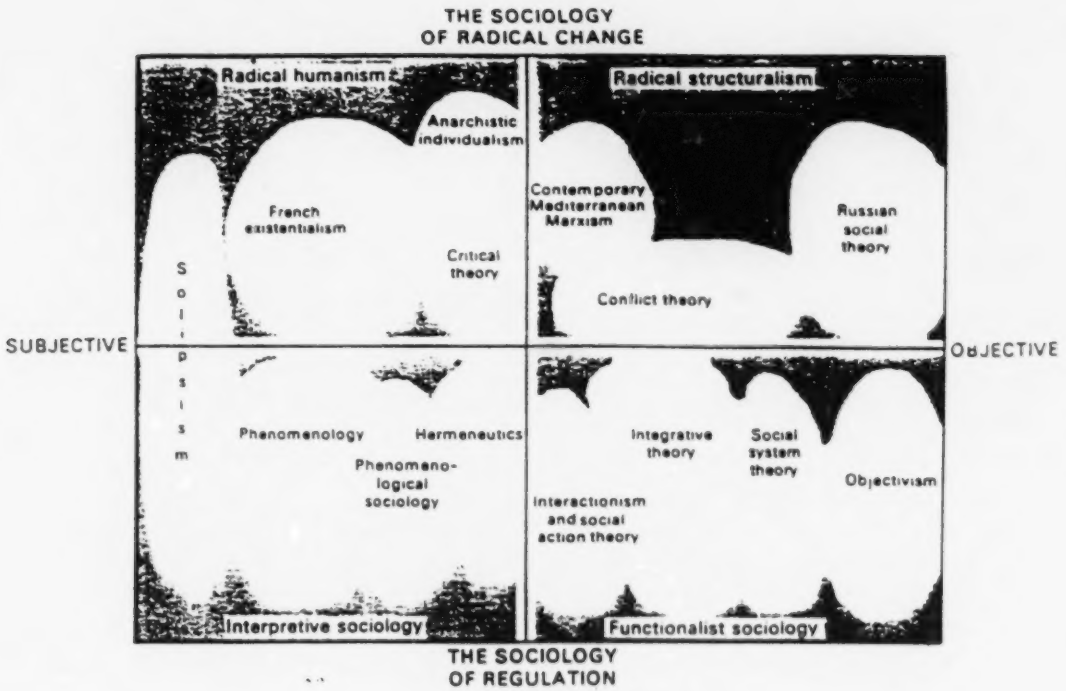
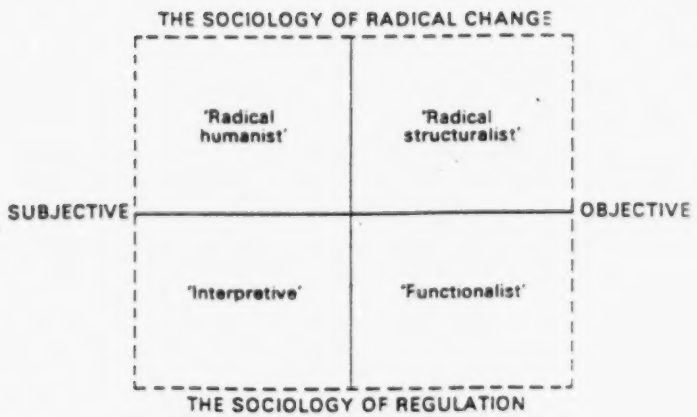


The four sociological paradigms



Four paradigms for the analysis of social theory

Figure 15. Four Paradigms for the Analysis of Social Theory, G. Burrell and G. Morgan, *Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1979), pp. 22 & 29.

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Characteristics of textual representations	Linear 1950s–1960s	Branching 1970s–1980s	Interwined 1990s
Knowledge control and organization:	Orthodoxy: hierarchial and centralized	Heterodoxy: emergence of "neo" variants and new inquiry perspectives	Heterogeneity: Disputatious yet complimentary knowledge communities
Knowledge relations:	Hegemonic and totalizing	Paradigm clash. i.e., "either/or" competition of incommensurable world views	Emergent post-paradigmatic. i.e., rhizomatic and interactive
Knowledge ontology:	Realist views predominate	Realist and relativist views contest reality	More perspectivist views encompass multiple realities and perspectives
Knowledge framing:	Functionalism and positivism dominant	Functionalist. critical and interpretative views compete and decenter	More eclectic. reflextive. and pragmatic
Knowledge style:	Parsimonious and value-free	Agonistic and partisan	Increasingly intertextual. ecologistic. and contingent
Knowledge gender:	Maleness: logic dominant	Feminist ideas emerge. compete. decenter	Gender issues more open and indeterminate
Knowledge emotions:	Optimism and confidence	Disdain. incredulity. or exhilaration	Ambivalence. i.e., nostalgia for certainty; delight in diversity
Knowledge products:	Law-like crossnational statements the ideal	Competing ideologies	Explanation. interpretation. simulation. translation and mapping
Illustrative texts:	Adams and Farrell (1969). Anderson (1961). Bereday (1964); Husén (1967); Noah and Eckstein (1969)	Anderson (1977). Bourdieu and Passeron (1977). Bowles and Gintis (1976). Carnoy (1984). Clignet (1981). Epstein (1983). Heyman (1979). Husén (1988). Karabel and Halsey (1977). Kelly and Nihlen (1982). Paulston (1977)	Altbach (1991). Cowen (1990). Lather (1991). Masemann (1990). Paulston (1990. 1993). Paulston and Tidwell (1992). Rust (1991). von Recum (1990)

Figure 16. Changing Representations of Knowledge in Comparative Education Texts, 1950's-1990's. R.G. Paulston, "Comparative Education: Paradigms and Theories" in T. Husen and N. Postlethwaite, eds. *International Encyclopedia of Education* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1994), p.924.

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Figure 17. The Nested Contexts of Children's Story Making. M. Maguire, "Cultural Stances Informing Storytelling Among Bilingual Children in Quebec." *Comparative Education Review* 38, no. 1 (1994), p. 121.

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hermeneuticism can, as with any scopic regime, serve propagandistic ends. To quote Gottlieb regarding this figure.

> The "Terra Incognita" of the professoriate was invented as much as discovered through a scientific instrument (i.e. the International questionnaire). Setting out to discover the professoriate worldwide entailed objectification of the real spaces professors occupy in their national context, much like the complex operation of a map, the art of inscribing and tying together places in a surface through networks of names and signs. By projecting the results of the International Survey onto a flat analogic model of the world, *The Chronicle of Higher Education* constructs the professoriate as a kind of "Leibniz's God" present everywhere. In contrast with reporting the results narratively, picturing them on a world map universalizes the International Survey. In other words, the utopic operation of the International Survey manifests itself in the relationship between the surveyor's gaze and the representation of this reality (i.e. the results collected by the survey). This map is nothing less than the visual Utopia of the professoriate (p. 264).

The mythopoeic worlds constructed and communicated in Figure 19 privilege a humanistic scopic tradition begun in the Classical period and still highly effective, especially with non-literate viewers, as in many traditional settings. Here Narcissus is portrayed as gendered female, is reflexive and part of nature. Faust (and the devil) are in contrast stereotypically male and are locked in a compulsive, regimented confrontation with nature. Structural differentiation may be seen to move in linear progression from left to right, as do Faust the developer and his minions doing the work of "progress."[11] This figure is clearly critical of development compulsions found in both TR and CR world-views and their agendas for progress. The Phoenix myth, in contrast, gives space to and accepts the CR ambition for transformation via radical process. Together, Figures 19 and 20 create worlds grounded in the classical humanist and ecological mythopoeic forms.

Based on an analysis of historical texts, Figure 21 charts a world of eras and "streams of thought" where historical cycles are depicted both textually and visually. Mouat explains how this figuration captures a historical world of his making:

> It can be demonstrated that each phase of the cognitive cycle is manifest at the social level with sufficient distinction that historians give names to the phases. Hence, for western social development the terms Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, Modern, and Postmodern refer to eras in which a particular phase of the cognitive cycle dominated or dominates the

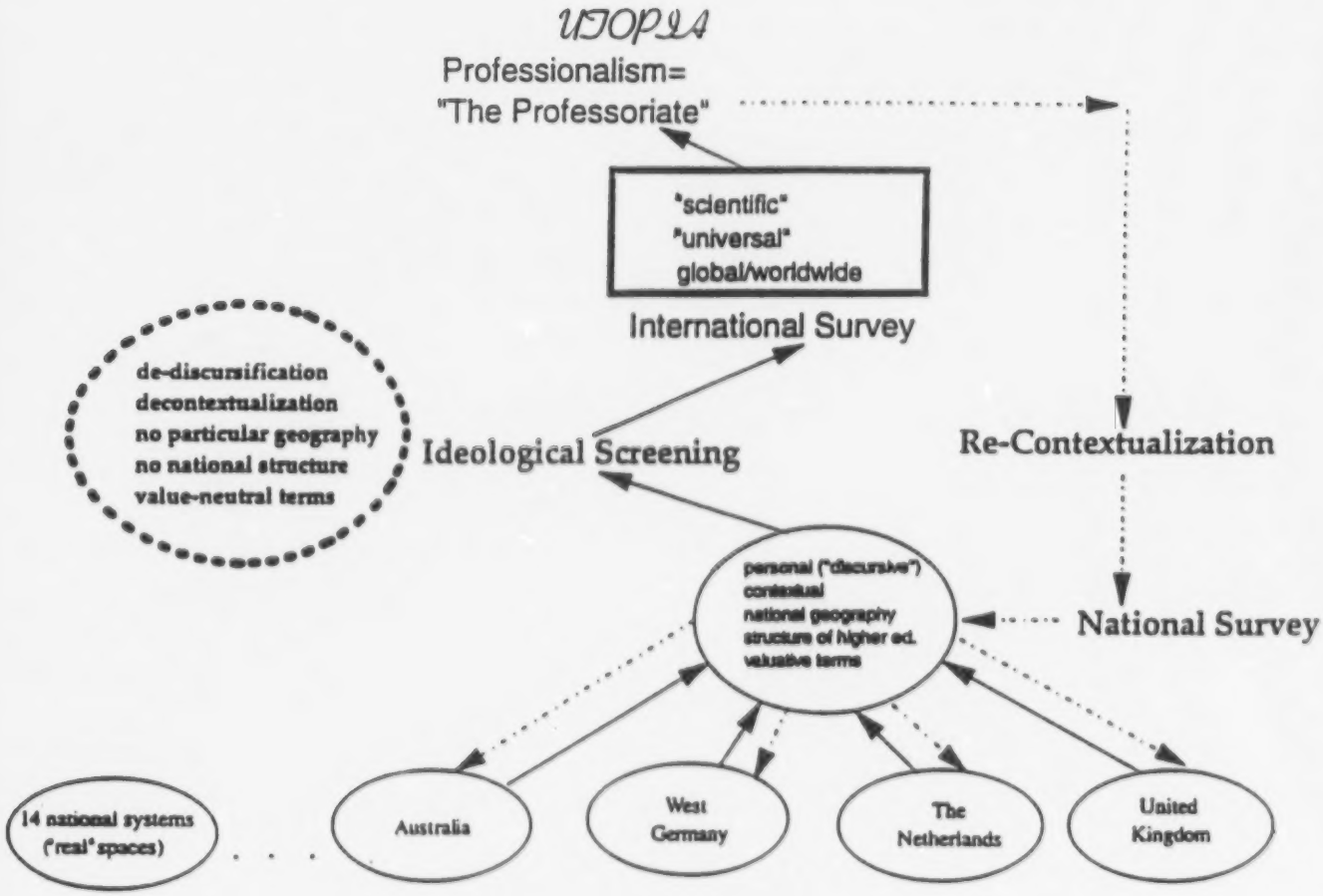

Figure 18. Construction of the Professoriate as the Utopia of Worldwide Professionalism. E. Gottlieb, "Mapping the Utopia of Professionalism" in R.G. Paulston, ed. *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change* (New York: Garland, 1996), p. 263.

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Figure 19. Phoenix, Faust, Narcissus: Cyclical Refrain in the Western Story. A. Buttimer, "Mythopoeic Images of Western Humanism." in R.G. Paulston, ed. *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change* (New York: Garland, 1996), p. 148.

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social construction of knowledge. The validity of this observation is demonstrated when the hallmarks of differentiation, integration and synthesis--the phases comprising the cycle of human thought--are compared with the hallmarks of the eras in western development which have been previously identified by historians. When this is done it becomes apparent that the Medieval was primarily a differentiating era, the Renaissance was an integrating era, the Baroque was a synthesizing era, the Modern was a differentiating era once again, and the Postmodern is an integrating era.

Moreover, each complete cycle of synthesis, differentiation and integration forms a stage in social development which finds its direct analogue not only in the cognitive cycle but also in the pattern of individual cognitive development. (Note that I have now placed synthesis at the beginning of the cycle since it is the synthesis phase which provides the conceptual framework that is articulated during the following differentiating and integrating eras.) When western social history and the pattern of individual cognitive development are compared, the Medieval era and the Renaissance are found to parallel the differentiating and integrating phases of the second cycle in the pattern of cognitive development, while the Baroque synthesis introduces the third cycle which is developed in the Modern age and completed in the Postmodern era (pp. 92-93).

Where Figure 19 recyles three images with a fatalistic regularity, Figure 21 identifies discrete historical eras and describes the rotation of their distinctive intellectual hallmarks with near clockwork precision. This work raises the level of heuristic representation in comparative education discourse to a new level, and predicts that "mapping abstractions" will, by the logic of necessity, become our new scopic regime required to pattern the fragmentation and de-differentiation of today. But, as Baudrillard advises we must first invent a visual game able to render fixed positions reversible, able to help us see how the scopic regimes of modernity have sought to capture the strange and make it ordinary.[12] Today it would seem visual representation is challenged to uncouple the real and provide space to figure the flood of simulated worlds that aggressively compete for our attention.

Today, we are challenged to map out the new objective order of things--its immanent logic and ironic form. In a time when electronic media generate hyperreal models of a real seemingly without origin or reality i.e., the world as Disneyland or the World-Wide Web, the territory no longer precedes the map. Now it is the map that engenders the territory. With the world of human culture constituted through the work of signifying practices, our task today is to de-code and pattern this new reality of information networks and electronic communication without naive essentialism or undue nostalgia for the world we have lost.

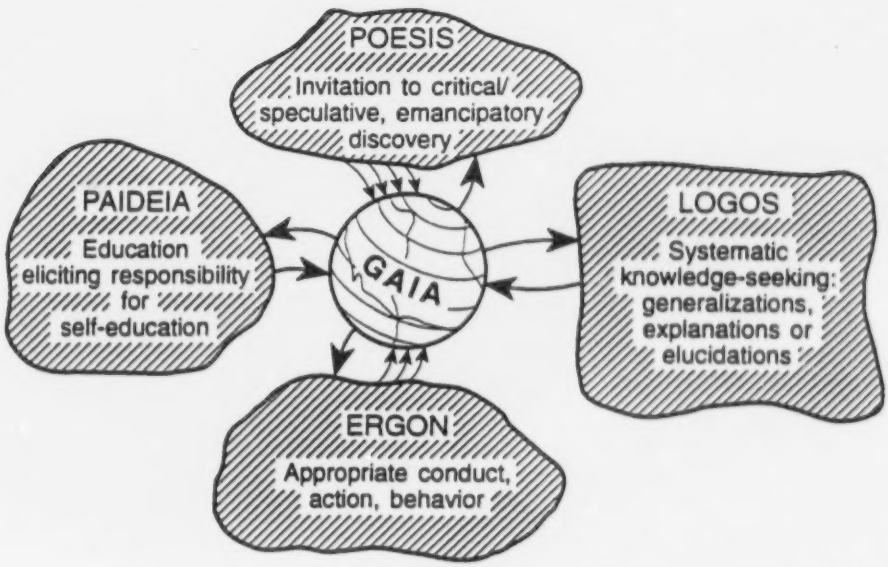

Figure 20. Gaia: Global Challenge for the Practice of Geography, Education, and Knowledge. A. Buttimer, "Mythopolic Images of Western Humanism." in R.G. Paulston, ed. *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change* (New York: Garland, 1996), p. 157.

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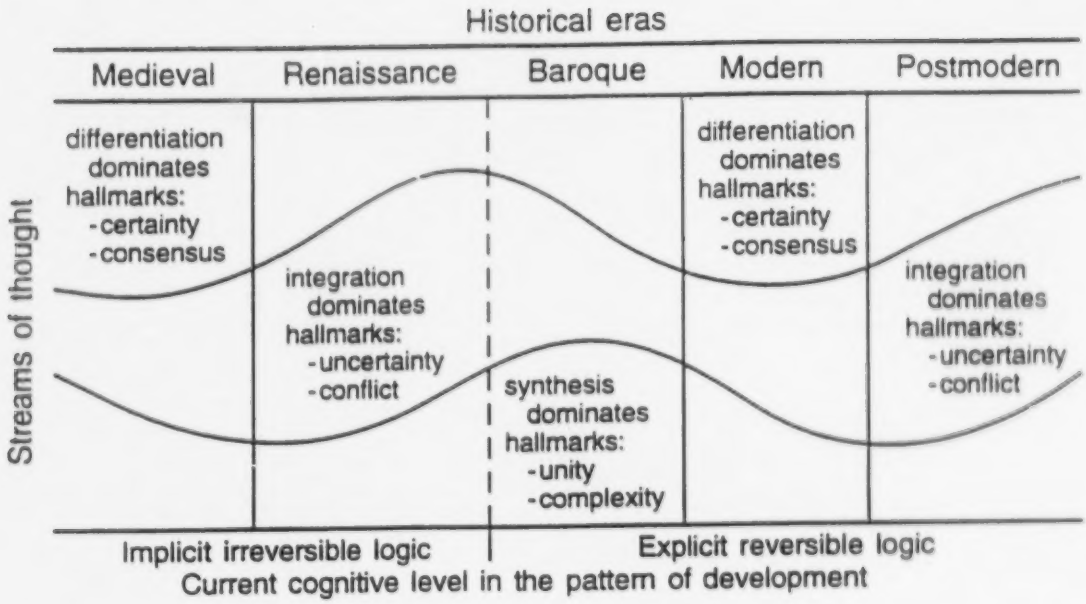

Figure 21. An Abstract Map of the Pattern of Cognitive Development in Western History. T.W. Mouat, IV, "The Timely Emergence of Social Cartography" in R.G. Paulston, ed. *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change* (New York: Garland, 1996), p.92.

How one comparative educator has attempted to respond to this need to remap our field (and perhaps help it move to the forefront of comparative studies) is presented in the following section.

Part Two The Invention of A Social Cartography? A Personal Narrative/Journey

I went to the University of British Columbia (UBC) in Vancouver as a visiting professor in the summer of 1991 with the hope that a trip to the "frontier" might provoke some new ideas about representing knowledge and visualizing difference. Given the collapse of the cold war with its polarizing stories, and the emergence of provocative new ways of seeing in poststructuralist, postmodern feminist and postcolonial studies, the time seemed alive with opportunities to rethink our world, to sail off our brutal old maps. UBC is situated in a setting of vast panoramas of sea, forest, city and sky. I had ample time to converse, to read and discover. Texts by the postmodern geographers;[13] related studies by Bourdieu and the French poststructuralists[14] and some illuminating feminist cartographers[15] all helped me to understand better possibilities to remap my mind and my field. I also reflected on the failure of my conference paper of the year before, "Comparing Ways of Knowing across Inquiry Communities," to specify exactly how contradictory ideas and views of reality might be represented and compared in a more open or "free-form" manner.[16]

On returning to the University of Pittsburgh that Fall, I had begun to understand how a spatial turn in comparative studies would focus less on formal theory and competing truth claims and more on how contingent knowledge may be seen as embodied, locally constructed and visually represented as oppositional yet complimentary positionings in shifting fields. As Bateson points out, maps not only emphasize spatial relations, they also help to recognize and pattern difference.[17] By naming and classifying, maps help us "know" something so we can "see" something different. The problem with getting comparativists to think more globally or locally, for example, may be that this task is difficult to map because there is nothing but difference. What a confused comparative thinker may need is patterns interspersed among the differences."[18] This view would help me both to reconceptualize comparative studies as comparative mapping and to see it as situated, provisional and contested, i.e., as Donna Harraway advocates, as an ironic non-innocent practice. With the opening up of our vision and representations to multiple perspectives, we might also better move beyond the two great modernisms of positivism and Marxism with their rigid categorical thinking and abhorrence of the Other.

My efforts then turned to the crafting of a ground-level social cartography project with critical potential, one that would build upon and extend earlier postmodern mapping contributions in cultural geography, and in feminist, literary and postcolonialist studies. Work in this new genre uses spatial tropes to map intertextual fields. It shares the rejection of essentialism and scientism found in most feminist theory. It views the "ground" of our era as akin to a space of shifting sites and boundaries most credibly defined in relational terms. Where texts of modern geographers usually represented space as an innocent place

of situated objects with fixed boundaries, coordinates and essences, texts of the postmodern cartographers mostly present an agonistic or contested space of continually shifting sites and boundaries perhaps best portrayed using "the transitory, temporal process of language."[19] Soja and Hooper explain this growing fascination with spatial analysis:

> We suggest that this spatialized discourse on simultaneously real and imagined geographies is an important part of a provocative and distinctly postmodern reconceptualization of spatiality that connects the social production of space to the cultural politics of difference in new and imaginative ways.[20]

At about this time, Don Adams invited me to write an encyclopedia entry titled, "Comparative Education: Paradigms and Theories."[21] I accepted, but with the proviso that the entry would in fact be post-paradigmatic, that is, it would use a perspectivist approach to "map" my view of increasingly complex conceptual relationships between the major discourse communities that compose the field. I presented this study, viewing comparison as a juxtaposition of difference, in July 1992, at the VIII World Congress of Comparative Education Societies at Charles University in Prague with a title more to my liking, "Comparative Education Seen as an Intellectual Field: Mapping the Theoretical Landscape." The paper sought to demonstrate how comparative education "after objectivity" can now make good sense "in perspective" by portraying a ludic play of different theoretical perspectives within the art form of social cartography.[22] (See Figure 22) This cartography avoids the rigidities of modernist social models and master narratives, as presented in Part One of this paper and shifts the research focus to current efforts by individuals and cultural groups seeking to be more self-defining in their sociospatial relations and in how they are represented. In this regard, Liebman has argued persuasively that while social mapping is open to all texts, it is a project of and for the postmodern era; it is a new method to identify changing perceptions of values, ideologies, and spatial relations. In social cartography he sees an alliance of education and cultural geography to develop a methodology consistent with the visualization of narratives in a time when people now realize their potential and place in the world quite differently than they did a few decades ago. In education, especially, he suggests that social mapping can assist students who desire to resolve personal questions of self in a world offering a multiplicity of truths and values. As in this paper, social maps are proposed as "a method of illustrating our vigorous social milieu composed of a profusion of narratives."[23] This is done with an emphasis on layered, or imbricated, fields of perception and intertextual space, an approach which draws in part upon the technique of chorography, that is, the mapping of domains or regions, and the ideas of a Arjun Appadurai--concerning disjunctures in the links among space, place, citizenship, and nationhood.[24]

Now, with the project of social cartography or free-form mapping well underway, it is fitting perhaps to recognize Joseph Seppi's admonition in his chapter in *Social Cartography* (forthcoming)[25] that "an attempt at formalizing the technique must follow." The nineteen multidisciplinary chapters that this new book all, in various ways and from

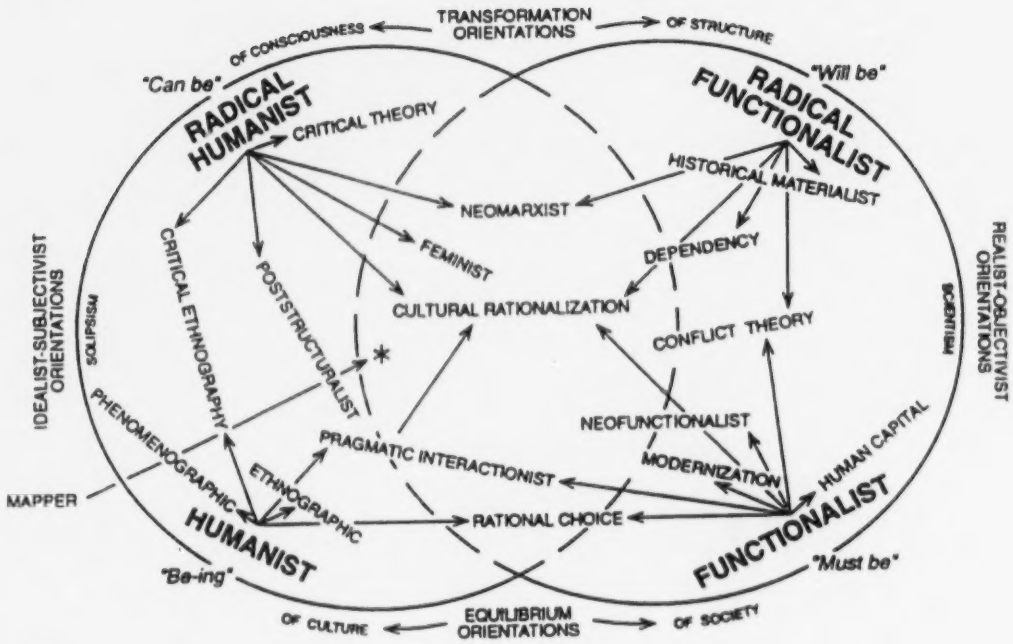

Figure 22. A Macro-Mapping of Paradigms and Theories in Comparative and International Education. R. G. Paulston, Comparative Education as an Intellectual Field: Mapping the Theoretical Landscape. Paper presented at the 8th World Congress of Comparative Education, Charles University, Prague-Czechoslovakia, July, 1992, p. 31.

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diverse perspectives, address this need to sketch in some "first principles" for a social cartography oriented toward charting the variable topography of social space and spatial practices today. In the opening section, Mapping Imagination, creative ideas from cultural geography, social history and comparative education, among others, are used to suggest how comparative studies and the human sciences might benefit from the use of a polyocular, or perspectivist approach. This section examines challenges facing all knowledge fields today as postmodernist sensibility, with its rejection of universals and attention to multiplicity and difference, permeates the academy, the media and individual consciousness. The four chapters in this section use both modernist and postmodernist orientations to query how mapping imagination can help comparativists to better identify and compare both similarity and difference.

Imagination can also be seen to work through spatial representation at the individual level. Said, for example, suggests that space may acquire emotional and even rational sense through a poetic process where empty reaches of space and distance are converted into meaning in the here and now:

> There is no doubt that imaginative geography or history help the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close . . . and what is far away.[26]

The concept of spatial imagination seen as an ability to reveal multiple intersections,[27] to resist disciplinary enclosures and cross borders,[28] and come into critical dialogue with other imaginations[29] is a guiding principle of the social cartography project.

The book's second section, Mapping Perspectives, demonstrates how ways of seeing portray relationships--in this case from the viewpoints of the positivist, humanist, cognitive and literary traditions. Four chapters examine how the application of spatial ideas and techniques have elaborated mapping in specialized areas, such as scientific geographical information systems (GIS) and land use planning, humanistic and environmental studies, management and business studies, and comparative literature, where maps are increasingly seen as rhetorical strategies that variously facilitate processes of learning and unlearning, resistance and transformation or, perhaps, serve as agendas for coercion and containment. The principle illustrated is that disciplinary theory and practice continually interact in a process of mutual referral. Theory is not detached from the realities of everyday life. It is a construct with semantic content, "and it is the responsibility of analysis (and mapping) to return it there."[30]

Mapping Pragmatics, the third section of the book, provides an invitation to social cartography with case study reports of mapping in practice and mapping as practice--i.e., studies that facilitate a spatial understanding of power relations and transitions. Here, contributors variously map ways of seeing the organizational space of third world educational interventions, a textual utopia-building effort, local perceptions of a rural

development project, the expanding representational space of international corporations, intercultural communication problems in educational consultancies, the intertextual field of environmental education, and innovative social mapping techniques. While these reports on mapping practice evidence something of the indeterminate and incomplete aspects of provisional cartographic representation, they also suggest how maps can open space for present difference, represent conflicting visions of the future (as with Escobar's "maps . . . of struggle"), and enhance our ability "to ironize our own claims to truth" vis-a-vis competing claims.[31]

In the closing section, Mapping Debates, chapter authors use critical perspectives to engage and question a good deal of what is argued in the preceding three sections. Here we find the project's critical reflexive principle that interrogates all knowledge, and especially my contention that a ludic mapping practice can help to subvert mapping's colonizing role under modernity--as suggested by Martin Jay at the outset--and open a site of resistance in postmodernity, all the while seeking to undermine its own authority as a new discourse of power.

These chapters strongly suggest that comparative education, as with the related fields of comparative literature, comparative politics and the like, now shares a common interdisciplinary pursuit of cultural theory and situated knowledge generation processes, as well as the more traditional cross-cultural comparison of national practices. Huggan argues that this new agenda moves alterity, or awareness of the Other, to the center of comparative studies:

> Comparativists are not syncretists. That they choose to outline similarities among works deriving from different cultures or disciplines, or written in different languages does not imply the erasure or compromise of their differences . . . Comparativists are best seen as mediators moving among texts without seeking to `reconcile' or `unify' them. What is needed . . . is a flexible cross-cultural model [i.e., a map] that allows the nature of each country's [or actor's] vision of itself to be redefined as a source of creative power. . . . The map should be seen as a symbolic battleground for competing heterodoxies . . . [maps] may attempt to regulate these `territorial disputes,' but they cannot resolve them.[32]

From this postmodern view, objectivity is no longer about unproblematic objects, but about always partial translations and how to portray and compare imbricated views of local knowledge.[33]

Because social cartography allows the comparisons of multiple realities and contested codes in a representational construct, it will also have potential to serve as a metaphorical device for the provisional representation, if not for the iconographic unification, of warring cultures and disputatious communities. Every social map is the product of its makers and

open to continuous revision and interrogation. In the process of mapping meaning, the subject is seen to be mobile and constituted in the shifting space where multiple and competing discourses intersect. This view advances neither the self-sufficient Cartesian subject of modern western humanism nor the radically de-centered Baudrillardian subject seen by extreme poststructuralism. Instead, the mapper is articulated around a core self that is nonetheless differentiated locally and historically.[34] Social mapping, in this view, makes possible a way of understanding how sliding identities are created, and how the multiple connections between spatiality and subjectivity are grounded in the contested terrain between intellectual communities.[35]

Feminist writers have effectively used social cartographic imagery and spatial metaphors in this manner to expose and challenge what they see as patriarchal representations and to chart new social relations grounded in feminist knowledge and experience.[36] Kolodny, for example, explains the strategic role of spatial metaphors in the engineering of social change in American history.[37] The land-as-woman metaphor was central, while the map served both as a metaphor of male control and domestication of the continent (i.e., the virgin land) and for the continuing domesticity of women. Feminist metaphors and use of an empowering spatial language invert and counter this story. Feminist cartographers--and especially those using postcolonial perspectives--have effectively subverted the complicity of maps in attempts to maintain what they see as an oppressive status quo, and have much to offer a critical social cartography practice.

Ethnic, ecological and regional groups have also been active in creating alternative maps that disrupt or reject the truth claims of central authority.[38] Such "resistance" maps--both on the left and the right--seek to avoid capture in established power grids, to create counter mapping that presents alternative world views, to open new rhetorical spaces, and to articulate postcolonial ambitions.[39]

It would seem that the time is propitious for comparative educators to consider how a cartography of relations might help us move beyond our present Cartesian anxiety to a more open play of perspectives.[40] I believe that social cartography, with its deconstructive view of all modes of representation and with its ludic tolerance of new ideas and diverse ways of seeing, can help us make this intellectual journey. In addition to its critical and demystification utility to make visible ideas and relations that otherwise might remain hidden, social cartography will also be useful to convert increasing flows of data into usable information. This will help comparativists recognize patterns and relationships in spatial contexts from the local to the global. In conceptual terms, cartographic visualization can also provide a link between what were once viewed as incommensurable epistemological paradigms or perspectives, now presented as nodes within shifting intertextual fields.[41] Perhaps Norman Davies sensible and pragmatic advocacy puts the case for a turn to mapping multiple perspectives most succinctly:

By complementing the findings of one partial perspective with the findings

> of other approaches, we can hope to create an overall picture [map] which will be fairly comprehensive and reasonably accurate, and will maintain a sense of proportion.[42]

I hope my accounting efforts in this section will better enable the reader to see utility in the practice of social mapping as it opens traditional cartographic representation to multiple perspectives and the play of difference. While mapping does not resolve the conflict of interpretations and sense of disorientation that would seem to be the defining characteristics of our era, our project contends--and seeks to illustrate--that social mapping will nevertheless be useful to construct, as Davies advocates, more "comprehensive and reasonably accurate" re-presentations of social and cultural phenomena. With the new conceptual tools of social cartography, comparative educators and other knowledge workers will be better able to visualize and re-present the simultaneity, diversity, and power inherent in all the social "scapes" that can be seen to constitute our challenging new world. I believe that this new way of seeing and figuring the "real" in all its complexity will give comparative educators--at the least--a useful alternative to the scopic regimes of modernity discussed in Part One. In Part Three some cartographic yield from our project is presented to support this claim and invite collaboration.

Part Three The Emergence of Social Cartography: More New Maps

> If modernism expresses the desire to capture a sense of wholeness, postmodernism tries to create a picture with emphasis on all the parts where nothing is left out. While avoiding conflictual dualism, it collects and combines as much as possible into a new vision. It is a heterotopia of mixed places and themes that views utopia in terms of multiplicity and difference . . . and attempts to reformulate utopian desire in explicit opposition to binary organization and totalizing models.[43]

With the advent of the social cartography project described in the preceding section, comparative education joins a variety of related efforts to remap theory in global, local and personal space.[44] Figure 22, for example, maps the space of theories in comparative education as a heterotopic intertextual field constructed by difference. This postmodern space accepts and reinscribes (as mininarratives) all theories, codes, language games, simulations or visual forms. Its position in Figure 1 falls within the scopic regime of deconstructive perspectivism (DP) and rather close to the de-differentiation node. This theory map opens to all claimants space for inclusion in the intellectual field and social milieu. Situating the mapper in this representation suggests--in a notably premodern manner that

> . . . by the act of attributing spirit to everything, giving every element of the landscape its own point of view, shows the [mapper] to be alive to the fact that there are other powers in the world, [that social cartography] is not a

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fantasy of omnipotence. It is a matter of doing your best in a difficult, hostile world . . . in which the spectator is alive to forces of a complexity we can barely grasp.[45]

Figures 23 and 24 elaborate possibilities to remap or "modestly" interact with Figure 22. The first does so with expanded attention to theoretical relations, and to borrowing, critique, exchange, and flows. The second with great perceptive originality bisects and enters into the space of Figure 22 to illustrate how the invisible (i.e., "previously hidden narratives") can emerge and enter the horizontal plane of social cartographic vision in a manner masked to view when seen from above, as in Figure 22. Liebman situates the viewer inside the map (i.e., estrangement) and serves as tour guide:

> Working with Paulston's map, consider the possibility of viewing the map in cross section, cut away where indicated by this dotted line. If we stand in Figure 24 at the point marked "x" and look eastward, Paulston's map may appear as shown in the center: a world of both direction and dimension.
>
> This map also offers a hypothesis applicable to concerns regarding mapping and its capacity for discovering, revealing and placing what Susan Star calls `previously hidden narratives.' We can make the map reader aware of unheard voices, represented here by the blank circles embedded under the surface of the map. Viewing the map this way is similar to standing on the north wall of the Grand Canyon, gazing across at people standing on the far wall while being aware that there are hidden stories under the surface, embedded in the stone of the canyon's wall just under where these people we see are standing. These hidden narratives await not discovery, but a recognition that places them on the map, that seems to make them "spring up" and take their place among the developing, moving and growing theories already placed within the social map's parameters (p. 210).

While Figures 25 and 26 also break new ground in visualizing relations--here in exchanges among key actors in education and gender issues--a situating of the mapper in these fields of relations would help to make the representations more insightfully ironic and problematic. They are nevertheless notable for retention of a CR problematic within a field of multiple perspectives. This is the challenge that defeats, or eludes, most critical theory advocates today.

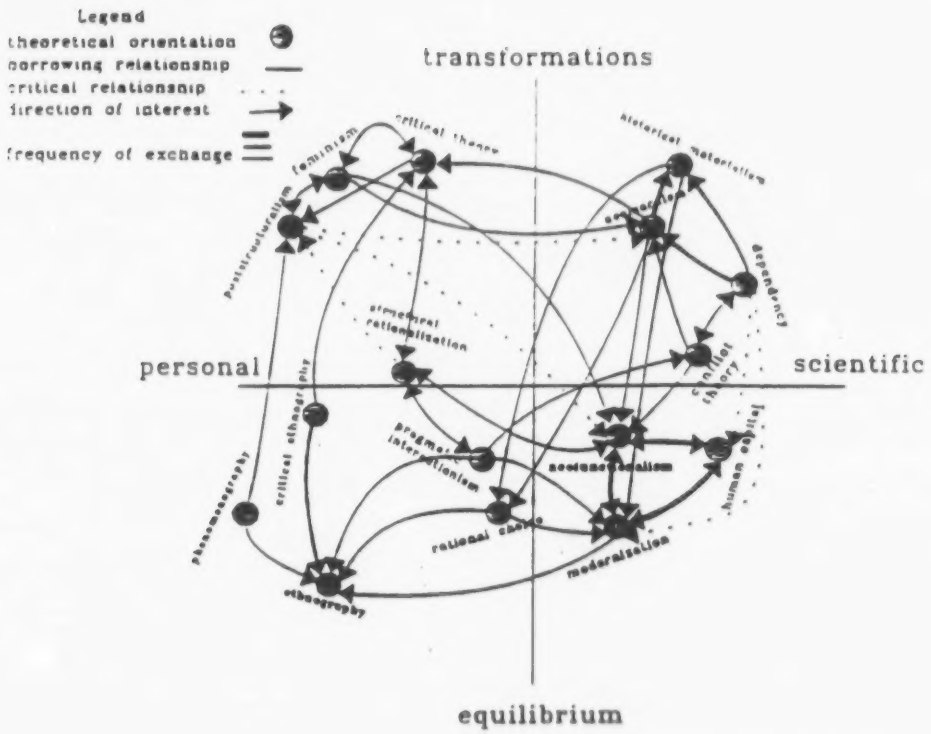

Figure 23. A Revised Macro-Mapping of Paradigms and Theories in Comparative and International Education. V. D. Rust, "From Modern to Postmodern Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change." In R. G. Paulston, ed., *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change*". (New York: Garland, 1996), p. 49.

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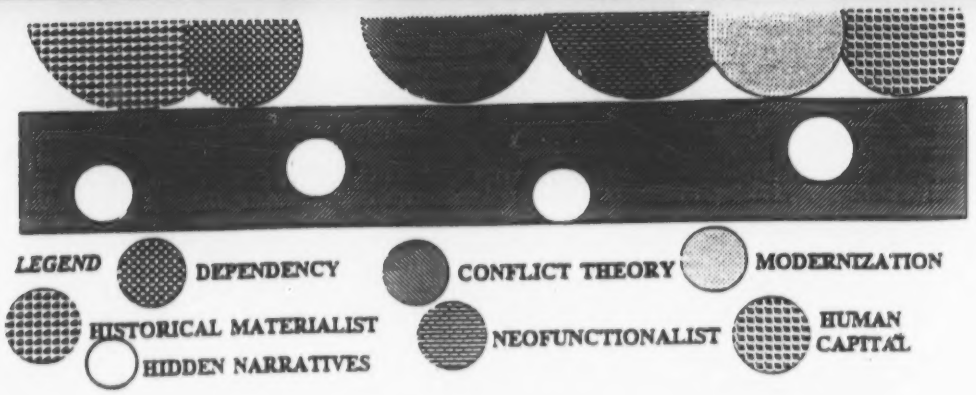

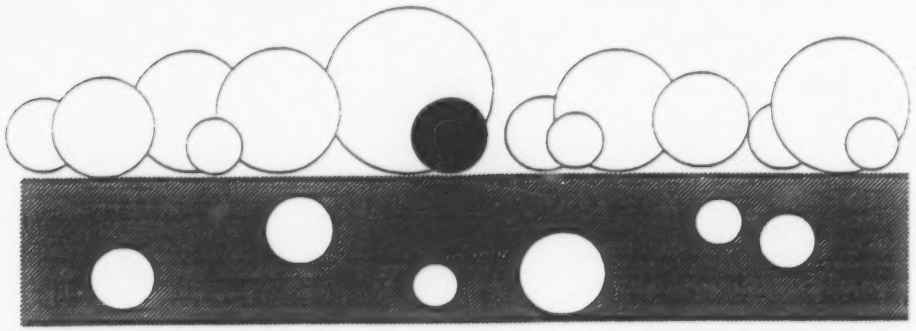

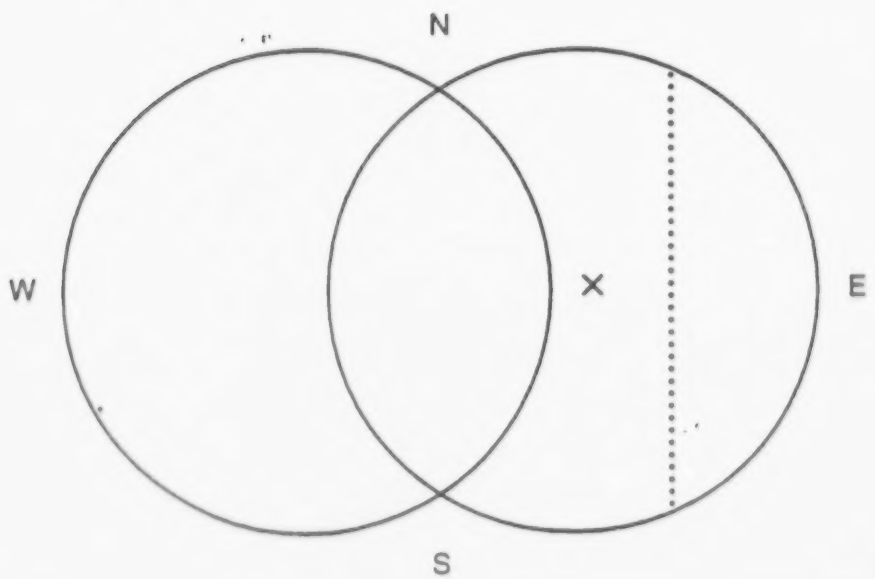

Figure 24. A cross section view of "Paulston's map" for discovering/revealing and placing previously hidden narratives." M. Liebman, "Envisioning Spatial Metaphors From Wherever We Stand" in R. G. Paulston, ed., *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change*", (New York: Garland, 1996), p. 211.

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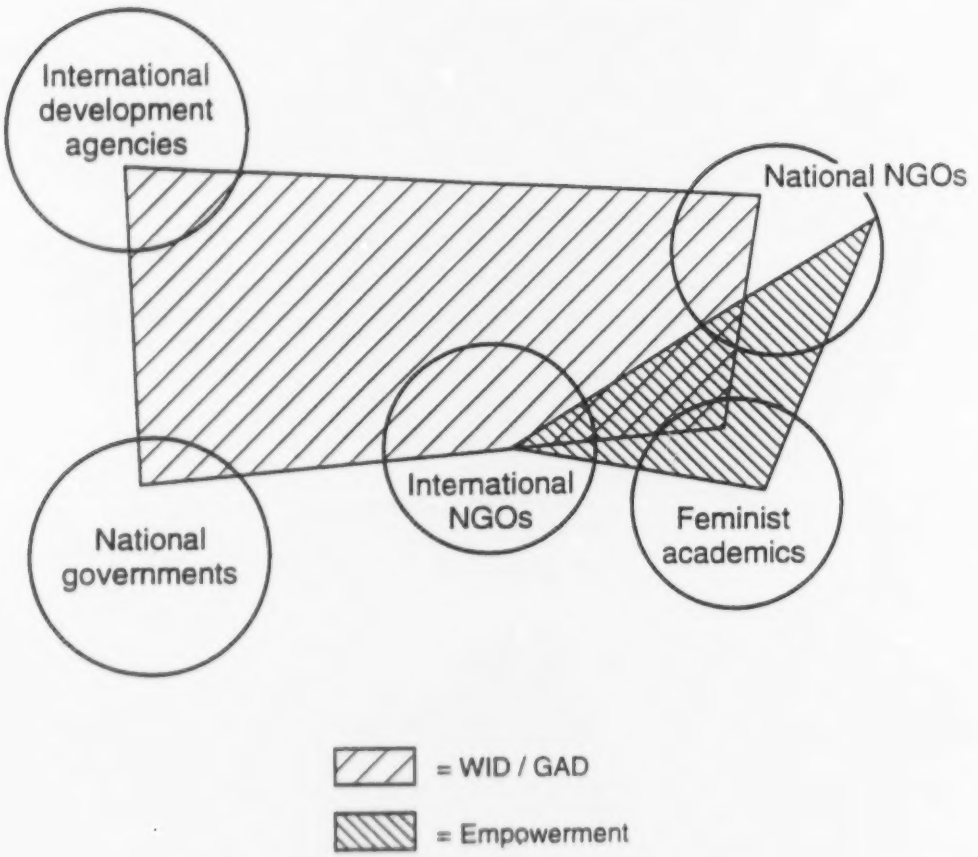

Figure 25. A Map of Conceptual Proximity and Remoteness Among Key Actors in Gener Issues. N. Stromquist, In R. G. Paulston, ed., *"Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change"*,(New York: Garland, 1996), p. 244.

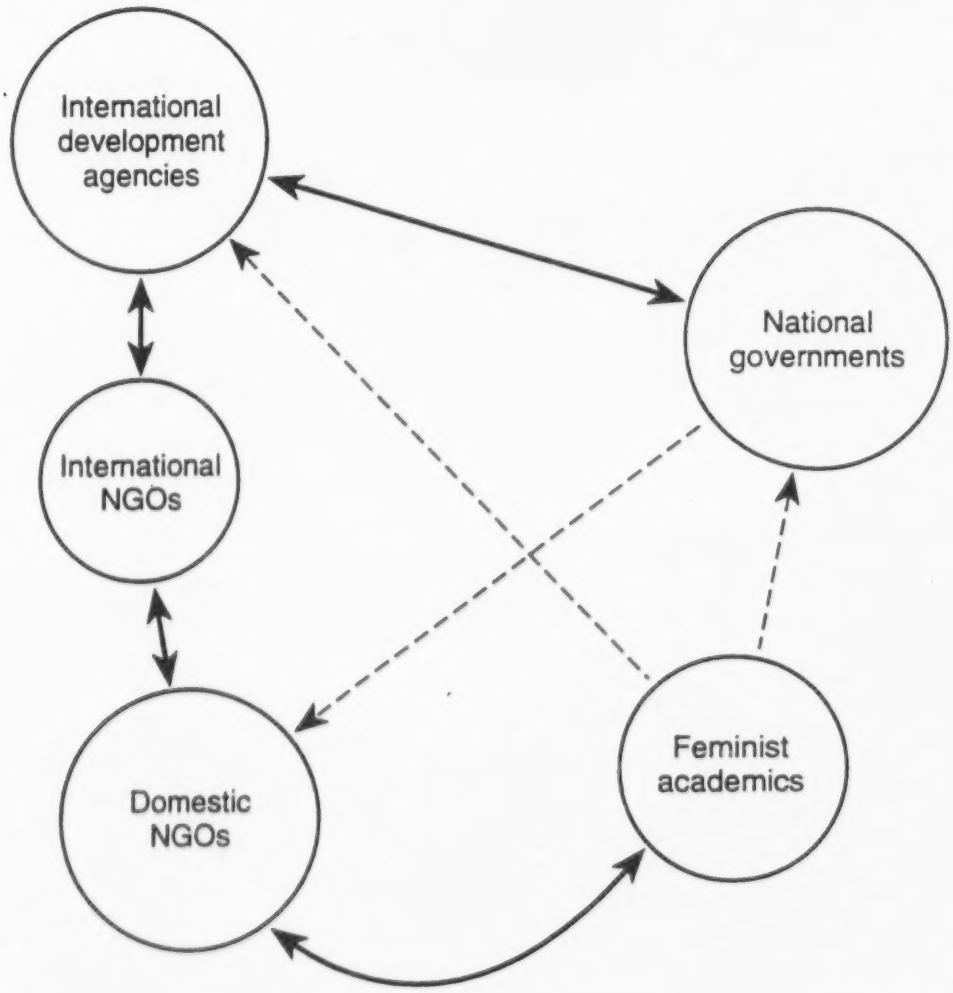

Figure 26. A. Map of Key Actors and Border-Crossing in International Gender Work. N. Stromquist, "Mapping Gendered Spaces in Third World Educational Intermentions." *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change*. R. G. Paulston, ed. (New York: Garland Publishers, 1996) p. 230.

The same may be said for Figures 27 and 28 where fields of educational practice are figurated as fields of difference encompassing perspectives that modern vision saw--if at all--as incommensurate and subversive to reason. The contrast here with technical rationalist representations of different views in practice--as in Figures 5 and 8 for example--could not be greater. Or could they? I will let the reader examine the figures and decide for herself.

Figure 29 is, in the words of several colleagues; "a mess." Here a poststructuralist preference for seeing practices (writing) as sites constructs an intertextual field, an acentered yet situated "reality" akin to Harraway's characterization of postmodern multiplicity as "a powerful infidel heteroglossia.[46] As in Lefebvre's view, language new becomes our "instrument of veracity" with which free-form mapping seeks to "decode [to] bring forth from the depths . . . what is sayable, what is susceptible to figuration."[47] In this rizomatic elaboration of textual relations is the acknowledged presence of a "fiduciary subject," or embodied "mapper," who as a socially articulated self is the true site of agency. Here the overlapping of discursive and physical space reveals the body as the primary site of political authentication and political action.[48] From the DP view, social mapping escapes the violence of logocentric enclosure and instead elicits an embodied discourse system or set of readings that are frequently disrupted and in need of reordering. Social cartography provides a visual means to facilitate reordering and subject reconstruction within a physical field and a system of symbolic exchange. Identity is seen to be largely discursive and produced through the interaction of verbal *and* visual texts. This "legible social body" presents a set of cultural codes that "organize the way the body is apprehended and that determine the range of socially appropriate responses."[49] Accordingly, Figure 29 represents my provisional and local structuring of "comparative education" as both an intertextual field, and as a set or assemblage of contradictory yet complimentary cultural codes.

Conclusions

And so we return to Judith Wright *et al* with some ideas and illustrations of how comparative educators and others have sought to claim their space[50] in ongoing efforts to map the intersections of theory and identity in a time of fantastic complexity and intermingling. We observe that in comparative education discourse at least, the three scopic regimes of modernity continue to differentiate and prosper despite postmodern prognostications to the contrary. And with the timely emergence of postmodern fields of figuration, we have for the first time a scopic regime, open to all ways of seeing, yet privileging none.[51] This social cartography perspective provides a new methodology better able to reinscribe and pattern our increasingly ironic understanding of reality. As some recent work in quantum mechanics suggests, science in the future will be increasingly probabilistic and speculative--in other words, ironic.[52] If, as this work suggests, reality is a "participatory" phenomenon, defined in some sense by the questions we put to it, then the scopic regime of postmodernity will be a useful comparative tool/idea for our time.

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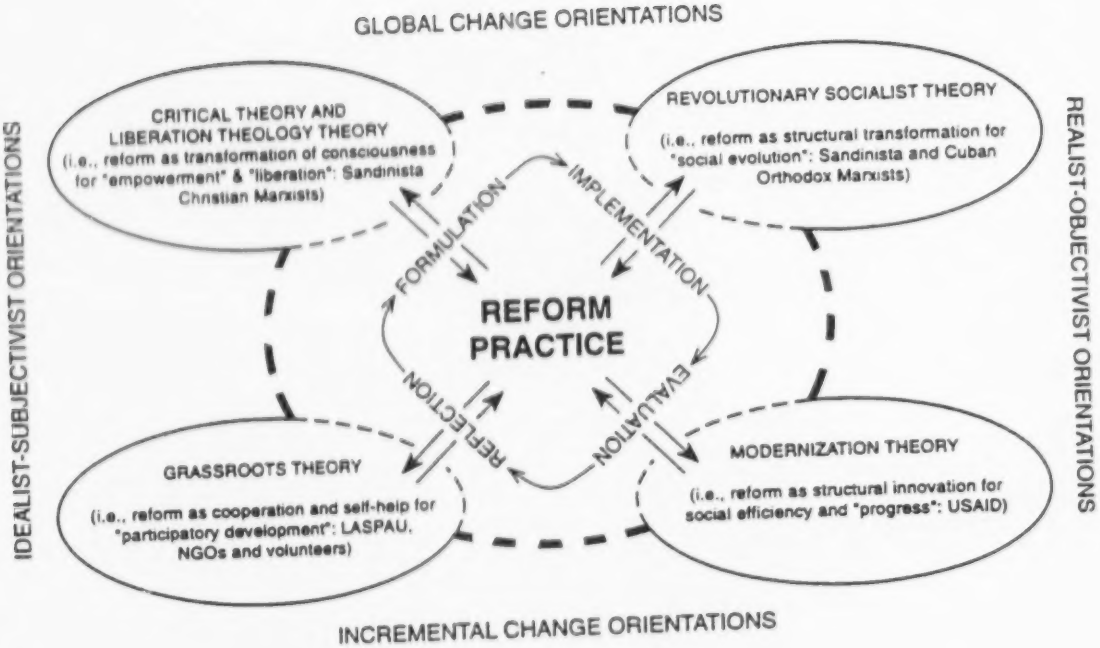
GLOBAL CHANGE ORIENTATIONS
IDEALIST-SUBJECTIVIST ORIENTATIONS
REALIST-OBJECTIVIST ORIENTATIONS
INCREMENTAL CHANGE ORIENTATIONS
CRITICAL THEORY AND LIBERATION THEOLOGY THEORY
(i.e., reform as transformation of consciousness for "empowerment" & "liberation": Sandinista Christian Marxists)
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST THEORY
(i.e., reform as structural transformation for "social evolution": Sandinista and Cuban Orthodox Marxists)
FORMULATION
IMPLEMENTATION
REFORM PRACTICE
REFLECTION
EVALUATION
GRASSROOTS THEORY
(i.e., reform as cooperation and self-help for "participatory development": LASPAU, NGOs and volunteers)
MODERNIZATION THEORY
(i.e., reform as structural innovation for social efficiency and "progress": USAID)

Figure 27. A Micro Mapping of Educational and Social Change Theories in Nicaraguan Higher Educational Reform Practice. R. G. Paulston, "Mapping Discourse in Comparative Education Texts", *Compare* 23, no. 2 (1993), p. 107.

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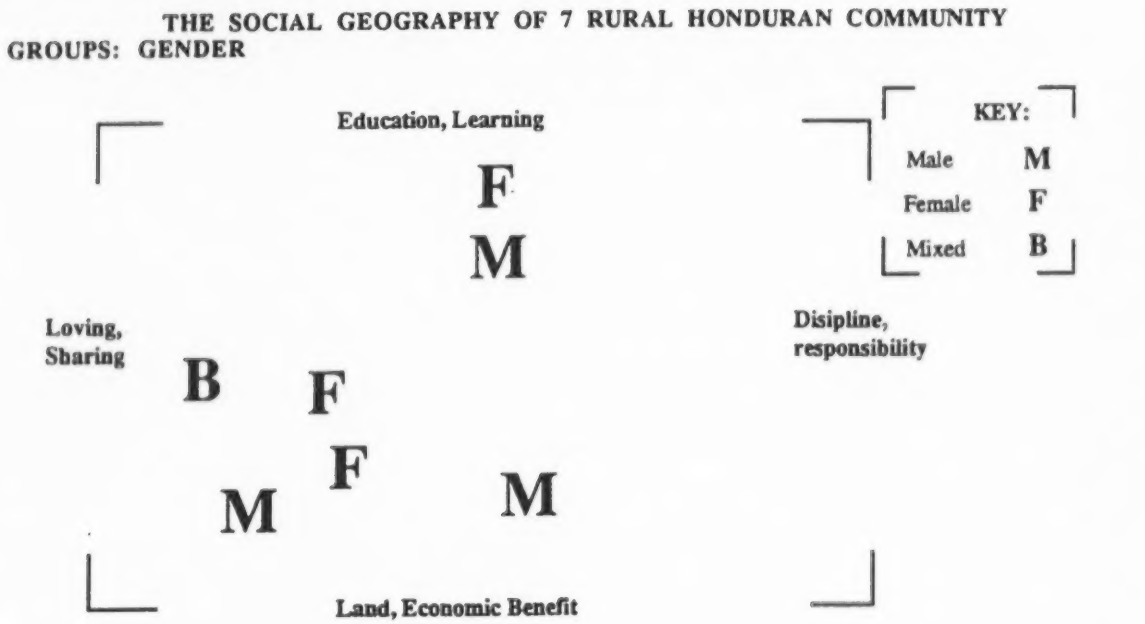

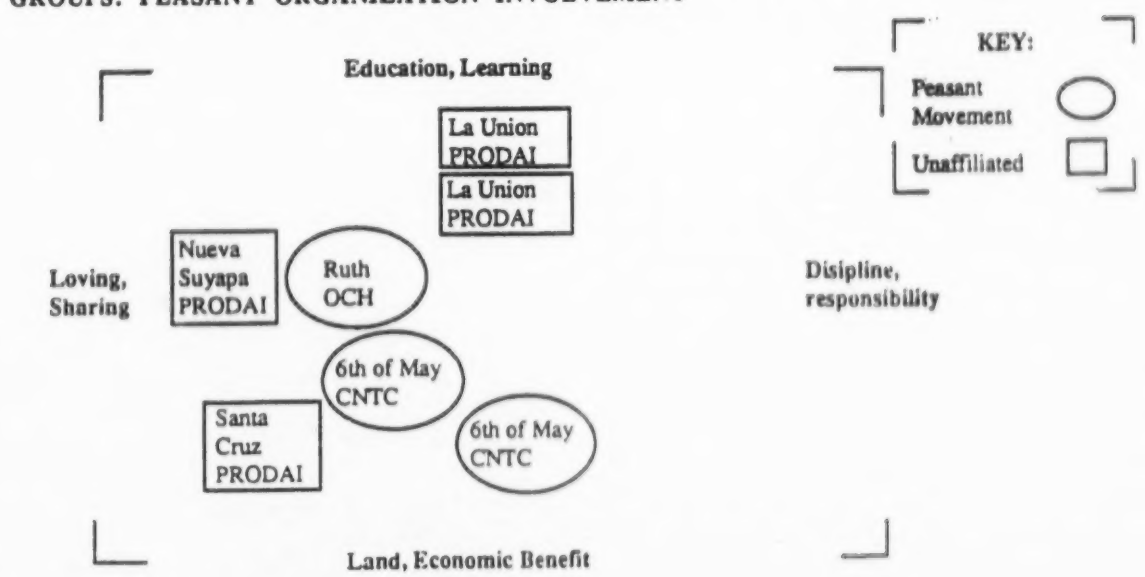

Figure 28. The Social Geography of Rural Honduran Community Groups: Mapping Gender and Involvement. C. Mausolff, "Postmodernism and Participation in International Rural Development Projects", In R. G. Paulston, ed. *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change.* (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 286 & 287.

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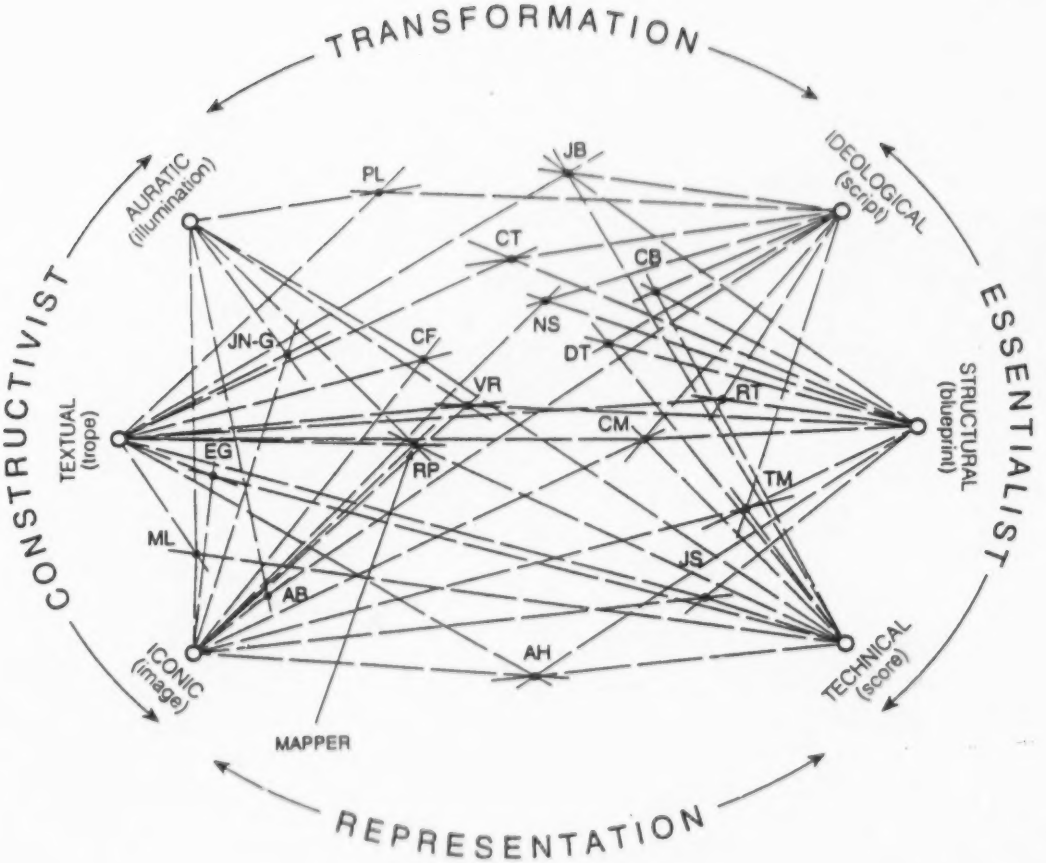

Figure 29. A "Nomadic" intertextual mapping of Social Cartography in the style of G. Deleuze and F. Guattari. R. G. Paulston, "Envoi" in *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change*, R. G. Paulston, ed. (New York: Garland, 1996), p. 439.

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NOTES

1. M. Jay, "Scopic Regimes of Modernity," in *Vision and Visuality*, ed., Hal Foster (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1988), pp. 3-28.

2. See J.-F. Lyotard, *Driftworks* (New York: Semiotext(e): 1984), p. 80; and M. Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, Trans. C. Smith (London: Routledge, 1986).

3. J. Wright, *Collected Poems, 1942-1985*, (North Ryde, Australia: Angus and Robertson, 1994), p. 30.

4. F. Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 92.

5. A. Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 10-11.

6. W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 12. See also the perceptive review by Valerie Holman, "Visual Impact: Three Books On the Interaction of Text and Image," *Art History* 18(6) (December, 1995), 595-598. Holman contends that "there is an increasing dominance of the visual over the verbal . . . in representations and theories that have originated in the late twentieth century" (p. 595).

7. M. Jay, p. 13.

8. See R. Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

9. For an insightful discussion of Marx's great suspicion of including visual texts in his iconoclastic rhetoric and ideological criticism see W. J. T. Mitchell, "The Rhetoric of Iconoclasm: Marxism, Ideology and Fetishism" in his *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

10. See R. Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1985), pp. 86-87.

11. For a pioneering textual portrayal of the Faust myth and its relevance for our time, see M. Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (London: Verson, 1982). Here the World Bank and its ilk are seen to be in the vanguard of Faustian development mania.

12. J. Baudrillard, *Symbolic Exchange and Death* (London: Sage, 1993), pp. 131-132.

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13. J. B. Harley. "Maps, Knowledge and Power," in *The Iconography of Landscape*, eds. D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 277-312. G. Huggan, "Decolonizing the Map: Post-Colonialism, Post-Structuralism and the Cartographic Connection." *Ariel* 20 (December 1989): 115-131. E. Soja. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. (London: Verso, 1989).

14. P. Bourdieu. "Social and Symbolic Power." *Sociological Theory*, 7 (1989): 14-25; J.-F. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

15. See G. Anzaldúa. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute); C. T. Mohanty. "Cartographies of Struggle" in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, eds. C. T. Mohanty, et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991, pp. 1-49; A. Rich. "Notes Towards a Politics of Location" in *Blood, Bread and Poetry* (New York: Norton, 1986).

16. R. Lawson. "Free-Form Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review* 19 (October, 1977), 345-353.

17. G. Bateson. *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity* (New York: Dutton, 1979), p. 2.

18. K. E. Weick. "Cartographic Myths in Organizations," in *Mapping Strategic Thought*, ed. A. S. Huff (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 1990), p. 2.

19. K. M. Kirby. *Indifferent Boundaries: Spatial Concepts of Human Subjectivity*. (New York: Guilford, 1996), p. 21. See also P. Yaeger, *The Geography of Identity*. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996). Yaeger argues that we are in the midst of a redefinition of space that requires contradictory mappings of global, local and individual space, that constructs "a series of improbable maps with the power to apprehend the strange effects of ordinary space and to remedy the geometry of forgetting" (p. 31).

20. E. Soja and B. Hooper. "The Spaces That Difference Makes: Some Notes on the Geographical Margins of the Cultural Politics," in *Place and the Politics of Identity*, eds. M. Keith and S. Pile (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 184.

21. R. Paulston. "Comparative Education: Paradigms and Theories," in *International Encyclopedia of Education*, eds. T. Husén and N. Postlethwaite (Oxford: Pergamon, 1994). pp. 923-933.

22. P. K. Moser. *Philosophy After Objectivity: Making Sense in Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 227. See also R. Usher and R. Edwards, *Postmodernism and Education* (London: Routledge, 1994) where the authors contend that "because postmodernism presents no foundational standpoint and no new *theory*, . . . it teaches us to

be skeptical of all systematic theorists" (p. 29). They focus instead on the ludic or playful practices of postmodernism as "a means of challenging the power of representation and totalizing discourses (discourses that present themselves as the final `truth' which explain everything) without falling into another equally oppressive power discourse" (p. 15). To deny the ludic they argue is to deny desire: "It is a reaffirmation of a universal reason and a formal computational rationality as the primary focus of discourse and practice. In revealing the ludic, we can at least provide the opportunity for people to desire alternatives" (p. 224).

23. M. Liebman. The Social Mapping Rationale: A Method and Resource to Acknowledge Postmodern Narrative Expression. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1994, p. 236.

24. R. Helgerson. "The Land Appears: Cartography, Chorography and Subversion in Renaissance England." *Representations* 16 (1986): 8-16; and A. Appadurai. " Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." *Public Culture* 2 (1990): 1-24.

25. R. Paulston, ed. *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change*. (New York: Garland, 1996). Forthcoming.

26. E. Said. *Orientalism*. (London: Routledge, 1978), p. 55.

27. R. Hayhoe. *China's Universities, 1895-1995: A Century of Cultural Conflict*. (New York: Garland, 1996). G. Lenski. "Social Taxonomies: Mapping the Social Universe." *Annual Review of Sociology* 20 (1994): 1-26.

28. P. Price-Chalita. "Spatial Metaphor and the Politics of Empowerment: Mapping a Place for Feminism and Postmodernism in Geography?" *Antipode*, 26 (1994): 236-254.

29. See I. Epstein. "Comparative Education in North America: The Search for the Other Through the Escape from Self?" *Compare* 25 (1995): 5-16 where these aims are also addressed. Two Italian philosophers, A. Dal Lago and A. Rovatti explore the problem of mapping perspectives grounded in wildly different views of reality. They advocate a sort of "weak thought" theory capable of encompassing difference with "modesty." See A. Dal Lago and A. Rovatti *Elogio del Pudor*. (Ediciones Paidos: Barcelona, 1989). "Weak though" is ironic and reflexive. It uses metaphors to say, to sketch, what it thinks it sees. This metaphor is not so much the thought, but a suggestion of how to know the thought "across a cultural horizon . . . in the sense of a proximity" (p. 23).

30. H. Liggett and D. C. Perry, eds. *Spatial Practices: Critical Explorations in Social/Spatial Theory*. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995), p. 10.

31. P. Foreman. "Truth and Objectivity Part 1: Irony," in *Science*, 269 (1995): 565-567. While Jean Francois Lyotard advocates a way of knowing that opens a space for singularities, i.e., "this commotion of ants . . . that constantly come into contact with one another through the fragile antennae of sensibility," he offers no ideas how such a social cartography might be presented. See J. F. Lyotard *The Postmodern Explained*. Trans. by D. Barry *et al.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992): p. 22. Pierre Bourdieu's "participant objectivation" approach is to see the research process as a social relation where observer reflexivity based on "a sociological 'feel' or 'eye' enables one [i.e., Bourdieu] to perceive and monitor on the spot, as the interview is actually being carried out, the effects of the social structure within which the interview is taking place." This he claims will give us a more reflexive social science, and a "command of the inevitable effects of that process" (p. 18). See his essay, "Understanding" in *Theory, Culture and Society, 13* (1996), pp. 17-37. Bourdieu has characterized this process of realist-objectification as "the real is relational" in total contrast to Hegel's "the real is the rational." While this process of revealing the structuring pressure behind actor's views with extraordinary care is an advance over crude Marxist notions of "true" and "false" consciousness, it continues to privilege the narrow view of an ideological elite and presents, for example, a total denial of "subjectivist relativism" as a conceivable actor perspective choice. Social mapping, open to all perspectives, does not have this ideological problem. See P. Bourdieu, *La Misere du Monde* (Paris: Seuil, 1993), p. 10.

32. G. Huggan, *Territorial Disputes: Maps and Mapping Strategies in Contemporary Canadian and Australian Fiction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. xi.

33. N. Smith and C. Katz. "Grounding Metaphor: Towards a Spatialized Politics," in *Place and the Politics of Identity*. M. Keith, ed. (New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 91-108. See also the fruitful ideas of C. Geertz in this regard in his now classic *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983).

34. J. Flax. *Thinking Fragments: Psychoanalysis, Feminism and Postmodernism in the Contemporary West*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

35. K. M. Kirby, p. 13.

36. See S. Ardener, ed. *Women and Space: Grounded Rules and Social Maps* (London: Croon Helm, 1981); and R. Diprose and R. Ferrell, eds. *Cartographies: Poststructuralism and the Mapping of Bodies and Spaces* (St. Leonards, Australia: Allen and Unwin, 1991).

37. A. Kolodny. *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience in the History of American Life and Letters*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975).

38. D. Aberley. *Boundaries of the Home: Mapping for Local Empowerment* (Gabriola Island, BC: New Society, 1993).

39. See for example A. Fischer. "Power Mapping: New Ways of Creating Maps Help People Protect Their Landscapes." *Utne Reader* 65 (1994): 32-35; and M. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics*, 16 (Spring, 1986); pp. 22-27; and Mohanty, pp. 1-49.

40. V. Masemann, "Ways of Knowing: Implications for Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, 34 (1990); pp. 465-473.

41. See, for example, E. H. Epstein's stern warning that "certain dissenting positions in Comparative Education represent not simply alternative interpretations of phenomena, but challenge the field's viability"(p. 5) in his "The Problematic Meaning of Comparison in Comparative Education" in *Theories and Methods in Comparative Education*, eds. J. Schriewer and B. Holmes, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1988), pp. 3-24.

42. N. Davies, "The Misunderstood Victory in Europe" *The New York Review of Books*, 43 (1995): pp. 11-14.

43. T. S. Siebers, "What Does Postmodernism Want? Utopia," in *Heterotopia: Postmodern Utopia and the Body Politic* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994), pp. 8 and 23.

44. For a highly original analysis comparing arguments (largely from S. Sontag and J.-F. Lyotard) that modernity favors a "discursive" sensibility giving priority to words over images while post modern sensibility gives priority to the "figural," see S. Lash, "Discourse or Figure ? Postmodernism as a Regime of Signification," *Theory, Culture and Society, 5* (1988), pp. 311-336.

45. J. Fenton, "On Statues," *The New York Review of Books* 43 no. 18 (1996), p. 40.

46. D. Harraway, "A Manifesto for Cyborgs, *"Socialist Review*, 80 (1985), p. 100.

47. H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 139.

48. A. R. Stone, *The War of Desire and Technology at the Close of the Mechanical Age* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), p. 91. Lather uses a "rhizome" approach to enter the interstices of a text and probe its gaps, complexity, paradox, webbing--in sum, its conversation. Rhizomes as metaphors produce paradoxical objects. They are about the move from hierarchies to networks of tangled ideas uprooted from epistemological fields. "Rather than a linear progress, rhizomatics is a journey among intersections, nodes, and regionalizations, through a multicentered complexity. As a metaphor, rhizomes work against constraints of authority, regularity and . . . open thought to creative constructions" (p. 680). See P. Lather. "Fertile Obsession: Validity After Poststructuralism." *The Sociological Quarterly* 34 (1993): pp. 673-693.

49. Stone, p. 41.

50. In E. Chaplin's advocacy of visual representation in anthropology and sociology, no mention is made of recent advances in comparative postmodern social cartography. See her rather disappointing *Sociology of Visual Representation* (London: Routledge, 1994).

51. In addition to the volume cited in note 25, the interested reader is also referred to the six Social Cartography Project research reports complied in R. G. Paulston, ed. *Mapping Multiple Perspectives: Research Reports of the University of Pittsburgh Social Cartography Project, 1993-1996*. Pittsburgh, PA, Department of Administrative and Policy Studies, University of Pittsburgh.

52. See J. Horgan. *The End of Science: Facing the Limits of Knowledge in the Twilight of the Scientific Age*. (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1996), or the summary version in J. Horgan, "Science Set Free From Truth: Thinking the Unknowable. Physicists, Too, Are Seduced By Postmodernism." *The New York Times*, July 16, 1996, p. A11. Horgan is a senior writer at the *Scientific American*.